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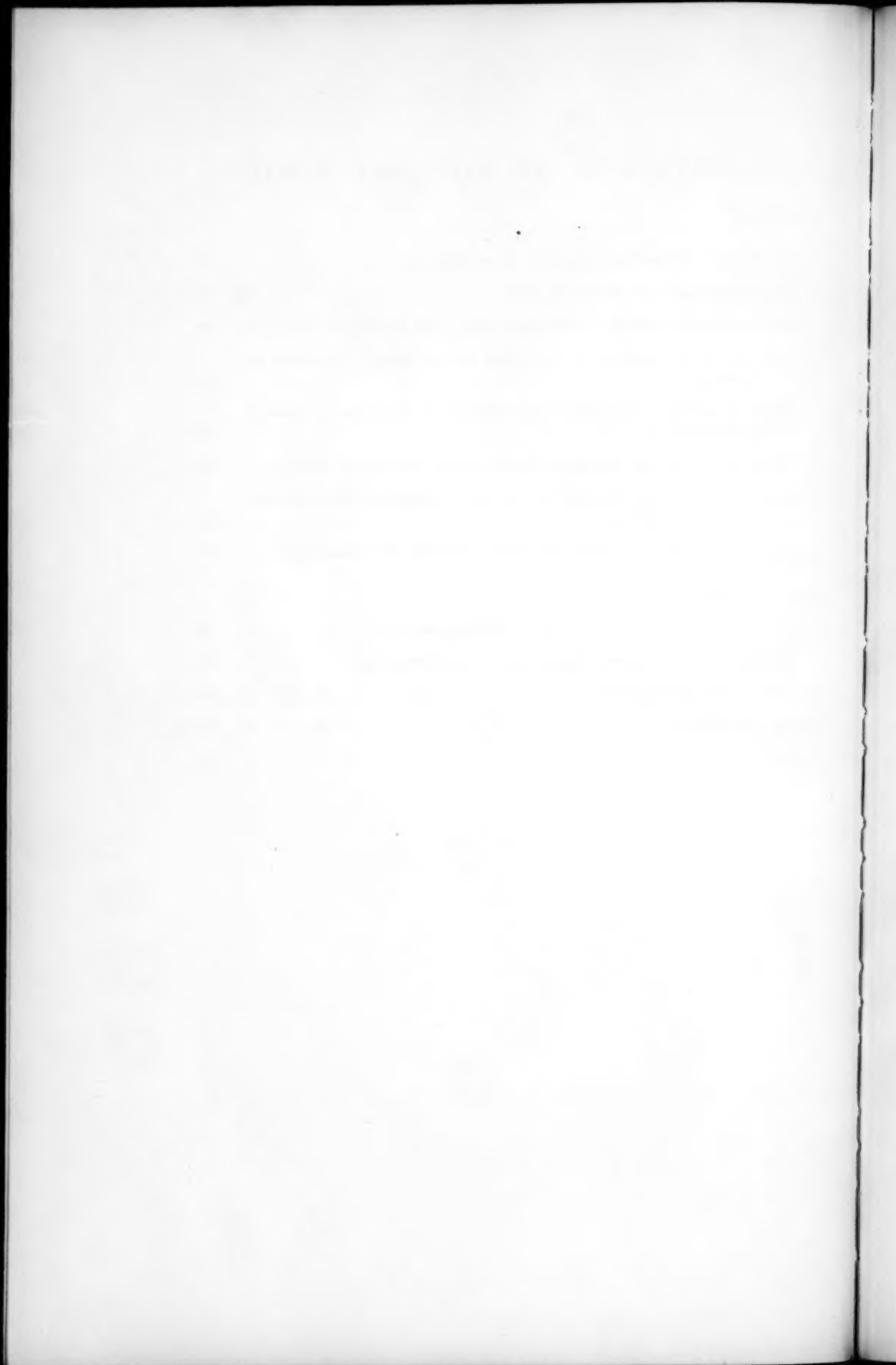
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La Salle's Expedition of 1682

La Salle began and completed his epoch-making journey down the Mississippi River in the first half of 1682. One peculiar feature of the event is that we have no autograph account or map made by the explorer himself. In fact, there exists no account of the whole expedition, autograph or copy, which was certainly written by La Salle. There is, to be sure, an autograph fragment left by the pathfinder,¹ wherein he speaks of his journey to the sea, but this can hardly be called a record of the trip, for in it he merely comments on the narrative of the De Soto expedition as written by Garcilaso de la Vega, comparing what he himself had seen with the fanciful description by the Inca of what purported to be the Mississippi. Besides this there is an autograph letter of La Salle written in early October of 1682, which contains, naturally, reference to the voyage to the Gulf but no specific details. For these La Salle refers his correspondent to other sources, namely, to a letter he had written to Father Lefebvre, Provincial of the Recollects in Paris, to a relation by Henry de Tonti, and to the *procès-verbaux* made by La Métairie.² The latter are notarial documents. La Salle's writings about the expedition are indeed meagre. But added to the above-mentioned notarial statements there are two narratives of the expedition, the one rather sketchy was written by Father Membré in the course of the trip,³ the other quite detailed was written by Tonti

¹ Bibliothèque Nationale (BN), Clairambault, 1016:188-189v, printed in P. Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 6 vols., Paris, 1876-1888, herein-after quoted as Margry, II, 196-201. This document, like most of those in this compilation is badly reproduced.

² La Salle to —, (October 1682), BN, Clairambault, 1016:148; Margry, II, 290.

³ Membré to [Leroux], June 3, 1682, BN, Clairambault, 1016:163-165v, printed in Margry, II, 206-212, English translation in M. A. Habig, *The Franciscan Père Marquette, A Critical Biography of Father Zénobe Membré*, O. F. M., New York, [1934], 207-214.

immediately on his return.⁴ Both of these we have as copies made by nobody knows whom.

In the first months of the following year, 1683, an official relation or report was drawn up. The author of this may well have had access to all of the sources enumerated above, that is, to the letters of La Salle, Membré, and Tonti, and to La Métairie's *procès-verbaux*, either in their original form or in copy. As a matter of fact the author actually made use of only one La Salle letter and those of Membré and Tonti. The identity of the author of the official report is the subject of the present article.

The more important of the two *procès-verbaux* made by La Métairie is the one which he drew up on April 9, 1682, near the mouth of the Mississippi. Two copies of it have come down to us, and both have been published; one by Margry, the other by Boismare, republished by Gravier.⁵ The act of April 9, 1682, has often been translated into English.⁶ Copies or duplicates of the two documents were sent to France at the beginning of October 1682. La Salle wrote:

I am sending you a copy of the *procès-verbaux* of what took place [during the expedition]. You will find it more in detail in the relation which M. de Tonti has written and in the letter which I am writing to Father Hyacinth Lefebvre, Recollect, a copy of which I am also sending you. If Reverend Father Zénobe Membré, Recollect, goes over to France, since he has always been with me, he will be able to give you an account of everything. If he does not go over to France, I begged him to write to you. Kindly make inquiries about it.⁷

The above passage from La Salle's autograph letter requires immediate comments in view of what is to be said about the authorship of the official report. To whom the relation of Tonti was originally sent—to the Prince of Conti, to Frontenac, to Renaudot or to Bernou—is not certain. Father Membré, it is true, in his letter of June 3, 1682, says that Tonti is to write to Frontenac, and that his correspondent, the superior of the Recollect of Quebec, Father Valentin Leroux, will learn from Tonti's

⁴ Tonti to —, BN, Clairambault, 1016:165-168v, printed, French and English in parallel columns in Habig, *The Franciscan Père Marquette*, 215-229.

⁵ Margry, II, 186-193, published a copy in the Archives des Colonies (AC), F 3, 241. He refers, III, 639, to an older copy in the Archives de la Marine, (probably AC, C 13C, 3:28), which is in G. Gravier, *Découvertes et Etablissements de Cavalier de la Salle de Rouen dans l'Amérique du Nord*, Rouen, 1870, Appendix XII, 386 ff.

⁶ J. Sparks, *Life of La Salle*, Boston, 1844, Appendix IV, 194-202; T. Falconer, *On the discovery of the Mississippi*, London, 1844, 35-44, etc.

⁷ La Salle to —, [October 1682], BN, Clairambault, 1016:148; Margry, II, 290.

letter "what I have not time to tell you about our discovery."⁸ It is also true that in November, La Barre wrote to Seignelay: "The Sieur de la Salle had the Sieur de Tonti write that he had discovered the mouth of the Mississippi at the sea. I have had no news from him since my arrival [beginning of October]. He was ill. . . ." But this does not necessarily stamp the extant relation or letter of Tonti as a copy of that which was sent to Frontenac.

The relation spoken of by La Salle is very likely the letter Tonti had written two months previously from Michilimackinac. It has come down to us in copy form, and, like the letter of La Salle just quoted, it is found among Bernou's papers. There is no addressee, no clausula, and it may be considered certain that the copy as we have it now is not a copy of the complete letter or relation which Tonti wrote. It was his habit when writing letters to ask for advancement, for pecuniary help, and in general to recount his services up to the time of writing, whether the letter was addressed to government officials or to private individuals; in the latter case he usually asked his correspondents to intercede for him. Moreover, internal evidence shows that this relation was a letter addressed to an individual, and was not an official report; see for instance the sentence "et autres choses que je mettrois si je n'avois pas peur de vous estre importun."¹⁰ Tonti's letter was "transliterated"¹¹ either at Michilimackinac or later in France; Bernou somehow obtained a copy of this, but not of the letter La Salle wrote to Father Lefebvre.¹² This copy of Tonti's letter and the copy of Membré's letter are in the same handwriting, apparently that of an unidentified professional copyist.¹³

⁸ Membré to [Leroux], BN, Clairambault, 1016:164; Margry, II, 211. Near the end of the official report it is said that the letter of Tonti was written to the governor; the assertion may be an inference of the compiler based on this passage of Membré's letter.

⁹ La Barre to Seignelay, November 12, 1682, AC, C 11A, 6:63; Margry, II, 302.

¹⁰ Tonti to —, July 23, 1682, BN, Clairambault, 160:166v.

¹¹ Cf. "Tonti Letters," in MID-AMERICA, XXI, 1939, 210.

¹² Unless the fragment of La Salle's autograph letter among Bernou's papers is what the explorer wrote to Father Lefebvre, BN, Clairambault, 1016:157-162v; Margry, II, 164-180; English translation in *Magazine of American History*, II, 1878, 552-561. The beginning and the end of the letter are missing; it narrates the events of the journey to the sea from "shortly before Christmas," 1681, until the party reached the mouth of the Missouri, February 13, 1682. The compiler of the official record had not this letter in the first months of 1683, or if he had, no specific details found in the letter were incorporated into the report.

¹³ Cf. W. G. Leland, *Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris*, I, Libraries, Washington, D. C., 1932, 172.

The letter of Father Membré gives a sketchy account of what took place during the expedition until June 3, the date of the copy of the letter. The missionary did not know then how long La Salle's illness would last, and he accordingly notified his superior of what had taken place up to this date. On June 4, Tonti was sent ahead, not, as is said in the official report, to send news of the discovery to Frontenac, but rather, as Tonti himself said, to open the caches made on the Miami River during the preceding winter,¹⁴ and to go to Michilimackinac to buy the necessary clothes for La Salle's men, some of whom were to settle in the Illinois country, and others among the Miami. Sending news to Frontenac was only a secondary consideration.

Quite apart from what is said in the official report about the progress of La Salle after his recovery, one thing is certain: La Salle was at Michilimackinac at the end of September or the beginning of October. The letter which he wrote from this post was brought to Quebec by Father Membré.¹⁵ Judging from this letter, La Salle did not know whether Father Membré would go back to France, this year at least;¹⁶ nor did the missionary himself know. Rumors had reached Michilimackinac that Frontenac had been recalled, and that a new governor was coming to take his place.¹⁷ When the missionary arrived at Quebec, it is likely he saw which way the wind was blowing, and decided to return. There were other reasons why Father Membré left Canada when he did,¹⁸ but they are irrelevant and have no bearing upon the point under discussion. The only pertinent point is that he went to France. Membré, according to Le Clercq, arrived at Quebec just in time to sail with Frontenac.¹⁹ Accordingly it was not incumbent on him to write to La Salle's correspondent, since he was going to the mother country.

Beside the relation of Tonti spoken of in La Salle's letter, there are two other accounts by the explorer's lieutenant: one

¹⁴ Cf. the fragment of La Salle's autograph letter, BN, Clairambault, 1016:157; Margry, II, 165.

¹⁵ La Barre to Seignelay, November 14, 1682, Margry, II, 303; cf. Tonti's relation, Margry, I, 613.

¹⁶ La Salle thought Membré was still in Quebec in the spring of 1683, cf. La Salle to La Barre, April 2, 1683, Margry, II, 313; June 4, 1683, *ibid.*, 325.

¹⁷ Cf. La Salle to —, [October 1682], BN, Clairambault, 1016:148; Margry, II, 289.

¹⁸ Dudoit to Laval, April 11, 1684, Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Lettres, Carton N, no. 79; May 1, 1684, *ibid.*, no. 83; May 26, 1684, *ibid.*, no. 79.

¹⁹ J. G. Shea, ed. *First Establishment of the Faith in New France. By Father Christian Le Clercq*, 2 vols., New York, 1881, II, 195.

written in 1684,²⁰ which did not reach France before 1685, and another first written in 1692,²¹ recopied in 1693.²² The first arrived in Europe too late to be used by the author of the official report, which was written in the first months of 1683,²³ certainly before April. Another relation which also arrived too late to be used is by the younger La Salle, who returned to France with his namesake in 1684.²⁴

The identity of the author of the official report has been a moot question among writers on the beginnings of the Mississippi Valley. The great majority think La Salle wrote it; a few hold Father Membré to be the author. As a matter of fact, neither wrote it, for it is a composition by Claude Bernou who embodied in it: 1) Tonti's letter of July 23, 1682, 2) Membré's letter of June 3, of the same year, 3) a few details taken from La Salle's letter of October 1682, and 4) what the abbé knew at that time of the geography of the Gulf of Mexico and of the Mississippi Valley. Before presenting in detail the evidence on which this contention is based, it will be well to summarize briefly the various opinions as to this authorship.

Thomassy found it by accident in Carton C, no. 67²: no. 15, *pièce 4*, in the Archives Scientifiques de la Marine, today, Dépôt des Cartes et Plans or Archives du Service Hydrographique. He first published it in 1859,²⁵ and reprinted it the following year in his larger work on the geology of Louisiana.²⁶ It is from the latter work that the text reproduced below is taken, since the present state of affairs in France has made it impossible to secure a photograph of the document from Paris. Such a photograph might perhaps have shown whether or not the document is in

²⁰ Tonti to —, November 14, 1684, two copies in BN, Clairambault, 1016:220-226 and 267-279; printed in Margry, I, 573-616. The French text and a page for page English translation was published by M. B. Anderson, *Relation of Henry de Tonty*, Chicago, 1898.

²¹ BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:103-108.

²² AC, C 13C, 3:128-141v. Cf. Tonti to Villermont, September 2, 1693, BN, Mss. fr. 22803:285-285 bis, printed in Margry, V, 3-5, under the date of September 11, 1694, and Alphonse de Tonti to Villermont, BN, Mss. fr., 22803:316-316v. This second relation first appeared in English in Falconer, *On the discovery of the Mississippi*, London, 1844, 47-96, and has been often republished.

²³ The title of the report has that the discovery was made "last year, 1682." Bernou left Paris for Rome sometime in April.

²⁴ Margry, I, 547-579; reprinted with an English translation on opposite pages by M. B. Anderson, *Relation of the discovery of the Mississippi River written from the Narrative of Nicolas de la Salle, otherwise known as the little M. de la Salle*, Chicago, 1898.

²⁵ R. Thomassy, *De la Salle et ses relations inédites de la découverte du Mississippi*, Paris, 1859.

²⁶ Thomassy, *Géologie pratique de la Louisiane*, New Orleans and Paris, 1860.

the handwriting of Bernou, unless, of course, it too is a copy. In the light of the evidence to be presented, however, it will be abundantly clear that no reference to the handwriting is necessary. There is a contemporary copy, slightly different from that printed by Thomassy among the Renaudot papers, Bibliothèque nationale, Manuscrits français, nouvelles acquisitions, vol. 7485, ff. 170-175v, a photostat of which is in the Library of Congress. Judging from the handwriting, the copyist who made this transcript was also employed in making other transcripts for Renaudot. The differences between the two documents consist in punctuation, capitalization, accentuation, paragraphing, spelling, most of which was likely introduced by the editor, Thomassy. The few variants which are not clearly misprints, will be indicated in the notes to the text of the report. The last word "Monseigneur" was missing in the Renaudot copy; someone completed the sentence by adding "du Roy," below the word "protection."

Thomassy holds that La Salle "speaking in the third person" is the author, and when Gravier republished the official report in 1870, he wrote: "This document bears the name of Father Zénobe Membré, but it is by La Salle."²⁷ From this it might seem that Gravier saw the document itself, but the fact is otherwise. It "bears the name" not only of Membré, but of Dautray, as well as of La Salle, and Tonti's name is more prominent than any other, except that of La Salle himself. The reason for Gravier's statement, however, is the similarity between the official report and the account attributed to Membré in Le Clercq's *First Establishment of the Faith*. Later in his book Gravier referred again to the official report as follows: "This document is attributed by La Salle to Father Zénobe who brought it to France, but it is by La Salle himself."²⁸ It would be quite naive to expect Gravier to give any proof for his statements, for he belonged to the school of writers for whom history is a series of gratuitous assertions and repeated groundless affirmations. Where, for instance, does La Salle say that he himself wrote it, or what ground is there for the positive statement that it is by La Salle himself? Moreover, since Gravier does not give evidence for his assertion that La Salle said it was by Membré, one can hardly put credence in his personal and contrary conviction that it is by La Salle himself. He claims that La Salle said the document is by Membré, but he, Gravier, knows it was written by La Salle.

²⁷ G. Gravier, *Découvertes et Etablissements de Cavalier de la Salle*, 172, note 1.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 180, note 1.

When Parkman first published his *Discovery of the Great West*, he spoke of the official report as follows:

The narrative ascribed to Membré and published by Le Clercq is based on the document preserved in the Archives Scientifiques de la Marine, entitled *Relation de la Découverte de l'Embouchure de la Rivière Mississippi faite par le Sieur de la Salle, l'année passée, 1682*. The writer of the narrative [Le Clercq] has used it very freely, copying the greater part verbatim, with occasional additions of a kind which seem to indicate that he had taken part in the expedition. The *Relation de la Découverte*, though written in the third person, is the official report of the discovery made by La Salle, or perhaps for him by Membré. Membré's letter of August (i. e. June), is a brief and succinct statement made immediately after his return.²⁹

When, after 1878, Parkman republished his book and expanded it into *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, the only change he made in the above note was the omission of the last sentence.³⁰

In 1872, Harrisse listed the official report as being printed in Thomassy, adding: "Le Clercq published it in part (in the [First] *Establishment of the Faith*) attributing it to Father Zénobe Membré who brought it to Paris, but it is by Cavalier de La Salle."³¹ Again this is mere affirmation unsupported by any evidence.

A rather peculiar omission of all mention of the document is noticed in Margry's compilation. In the introduction to the first volume he speaks of the contemporary memoirs in print at the time he began to gather up documents for the history of La Salle. He lists six accounts of contemporaries, the last being the abridged journal of Joutel published in 1713.³² To these he adds the work of La Potherie, published in 1722,³³ but he fails to mention that La Potherie is not a contemporary and that his work is second and third hand in all pertaining to La Salle. The reason for the inclusion, however, is not far to seek. La Potherie extolls La Salle in a rhetorical passage, which is easily accounted for considering the time when it was written.

²⁹ F. Parkman, *The Discovery of the Great West*, Boston, 1869, 272, note 1.

³⁰ *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, Boston, 1907, 276, note 1.

³¹ H. Harrisse, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire, à la bibliographie et à la cartographie de la Nouvelle-France et des Pays adjacents, 1545-1700*, Paris, 1872, 335.

³² Margry, I, *Introduction*, xv-xvi.

³³ C. C. Le Roy, sieur de Bacqueville de la Potherie, *Voyage de l'Amérique*, Paris, 1722.

Margry cannot be said to have been unaware of the publication of the official report by Thomassy; neither could he have failed to know Gravier had republished it, for he and Gravier were friends, and, at the time, mutual admirers.³⁴ Moreover, Margry also knew Parkman, to whom he had taught French;³⁵ and it is unlikely that they should not have spoken of this memoir, seeing that Parkman had it before he knew Margry, and had mentioned it in his *Discovery of the Great West*, published in 1869. Neither can it be said that Margry was only publishing what was still in manuscript form. As Shea has pointed out,³⁶ he "unwarrantably extended the collection by repeating what had already elsewhere been printed, sometimes at greater length."³⁷ In the introduction to volume one, Margry speaks of Membré's relation as being in Le Clercq's book,³⁸ but says nothing of the similarity between it and the official report. Did he, by any chance, see the implication contained in an admission that the document was by La Salle? For if Margry's contention was true,³⁹ namely, that La Salle had reached the Mississippi before 1673, the explorer would not have failed in 1682 to mention his previous voyage if he were the author of the report, and if, in fact, he had sighted the great river ten years before.

In 1881, when Shea published his translation of Le Clercq's *Premier Etablissement de la Foy*, he noted that the official report was slightly abridged from the account of Membré in this work. "Parkman thinks it the official report 'made by La Salle, or perhaps for him by Membré.' It seems strange, however, to assume that the fuller document given here by Le Clercq must be drawn from a shorter form."⁴⁰ The authorship of the official report puzzled Shea as it had puzzled Parkman; both were misled by the ascription to Membré of the very similar narrative in Le Clercq; whereas the ascription is erroneous. The last point will be shown in a subsequent article, for the paternity of the two accounts could not be treated at once without risking a confusion of the issues. Suffice it to say here, that if it can be shown

³⁴ G. Gravier, *Cavelier de la Salle de Rouen*, Paris, 1871, 5-6.

³⁵ Cf. *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, preface to the eleventh edition; Parkman to Margry, December 11, 1872, in *Smith College Studies in History*, VIII, 1922-1923, 132.

³⁶ J. G. Shea, *The Bursting of Pierre Margry's La Salle Bubble*, New York, 1879.

³⁷ J. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Boston and New York, 1884-1888, IV, 245.

³⁸ Margry, I, *Introduction*, xix.

³⁹ Cf. *Some La Salle Journeys*, Chicago, 1938, 43-61.

⁴⁰ J. G. Shea, *First Establishment of the Faith*, II, 161, note.

that the official report is not by Membre, then, since the account in *Le Clercq* is an almost verbatim transcript of the official report, it follows that the author of the one is also the author of the other. Hence all that will remain to be shown is the source of the additions to the so-called Membre account in the *First Establishment of the Faith*.

In his critical essay on the sources for the history of the Mississippi Valley, Winsor speaks of the official report in the following manner:

For the events of these two years we have two main sources of information. First the "Relation de la découverte de l'embouchure de la Rivière Mississippi dans le Golfe de Mexique, faite par le Sieur de la Salle, l'année passée, 1682," which was first published by Thomassy; the original is preserved in the Archives Scientifiques de la Marine, and though written in the third person it is held to constitute La Salle's Official Report, though perhaps written for him by Membre.⁴¹

Winsor gives as his reference the passage in Parkman's *La Salle* quoted above. Where he speaks of the 'original,' he clearly means that the document was the only copy to be had. He does not imply that La Salle wrote it, nor that an original autograph is extant. He merely means to indicate where the text printed by Thomassy is to be found. The second source of information mentioned by Winsor is "the narrative ascribed to Membre which is printed in *Le Clercq* . . . , and which seems based on the document already named," namely, on the official report.

Later, Winsor had occasion to speak once more of the document. He was trying to ascertain the source or sources of Hennepin's *New Discovery*. Shea had branded the narrative of the mythical voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi in 1680 as the "work of a literary jobber who . . . interpolated the citations from Membre's in *Le Clercq*."

Membre's journal [in *Le Clercq*] is very like a *Relation* which is preserved in the Archives of the Marine at Paris, which Parkman suspects was La Salle's official report, drawn up perhaps by Membre, if indeed it was not written by La Salle himself, as some suppose. That Hennepin got access to this in the manuscript, and was not compelled to draw upon *Le Clercq*'s printed volume, is not unlikely, though it has been alleged that he more confidently used the book of *Le Clercq* because the chance of detection was decreased from the suppression of that printed narrative. There is certainly room for doubt as to the authorship of this *Relation*—it is given by Margry,—and just precisely

⁴¹ *Narrative and Critical History of America*, IV, 225.

what are the separate and combined connections of La Salle, Membré, and Hennepin with it is open to conjecture. It was very likely a compilation from various sources, made in Paris for presentation to Colbert, and perhaps put in shape by the Abbé Bernon [Bernou], as has been alleged.⁴²

In the latter part of the above quotation, the author passes without warning from the official report, of which he speaks in the first part, to the *Relation des découvertes*, which was certainly written by Bernou. Thus what are in reality two distinct documents are here made appear one and the same. With regard to the official report, clearly Winsor was still accepting Parkman's views. Incidentally it may be stated that Hennepin used Le Clercq's printed volume for his *New Discovery*. He had no access to the official report. The suppression of Le Clercq's book is a legend which either arose from the misreading of a text or which was propagated by those who made use of a later edition of the *Morale pratique*.⁴³ The book was not suppressed; on the contrary there were three editions in two years time, and the present writer has seen a dozen copies of this "annihilated" edition in the libraries of this country alone.

Others who have written about La Salle and who have been concerned with the authorship of documents have simply taken for granted that the explorer was the author of the official report.⁴⁴ A few years ago, however, the traditional ascription was challenged by Father Habig.⁴⁵ "Historians, knowing of the Official Report of 1682, have failed to ascribe it to its real author, Father Membré." They were led astray by some statements in the *First Establishment of the Faith*. "The fact that the Official Report and the narrative portion of Father Membré's Relation in Le Clercq's work are but slightly different, far from indicating that the latter is dependent on the former, argues rather for the priority of the latter over the former." In other words, the account in Le Clercq is prior to the official report, because the latter is shorter. This view was advanced because it was supposed that the nine pages in the translation by Shea were written by Membré, as was the account ascribed to him by Le Clercq. Father Habig's next argument runs thus:

Parkman himself found it remarkable that the Official Report should

⁴² J. Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*, Boston and New York, 1894, 286-287.

⁴³ *Frontenac and the Jesuits*, Chicago, 1939, 105, note 12.

⁴⁴ M. de Villiers du Terrage, *La Louisiane, Histoire de son nom et de ses frontières successives, (1681-1819)*, Paris, 1929, 25; *L'expédition de Cavalier de la Salle dans le Golfe du Mexique, 1684-1687*, Paris, 1931, 33.

⁴⁵ *The Franciscan Père Marquette*, 234-243.

have been written in the third person (a remarkable circumstance, indeed, if one supposes that La Salle wrote the report, though the natural form, if someone else made the report for La Salle); . . .

Parkman merely noted the fact that it is written in the third person. Someone else assuredly wrote the document but certainly not Father Membré. From the letter of La Salle written at Michilimackinac, Father Habig then shows that the explorer is not the author of the document. The man who is, as will be seen, the real author of the report is ruled out as follows:

That the Abbé Bernou, the man who had prepared the other official report for the years 1679-1681, did not compile the report for the expedition of 1682 is evident from the fact that he was not at the time on friendly terms with La Salle, and was not reconciled with the explorer until March 28, 1684.

Even if Bernou had not been on friendly terms with La Salle at the beginning of 1683, one wonders what would have prevented him from compiling the report if he had the materials at hand. But this unfriendliness, the only evidence for which is a statement of de Villiers,⁴⁶ did not exist at all. De Villiers read a passage in one of Bernou's letters printed in Margry too hastily.⁴⁷ Since proof of this has already been given elsewhere, there is no reason for repeating it here.⁴⁸ If the reader will consult the first letter Bernou wrote to his friend Renaudot from Rome, May 18, 1683, he may easily judge for himself whether Bernou was unfriendly to La Salle.⁴⁹ The abbé for reasons of his own was, at that time, and remained, at least until 1685, the staunchest supporter of La Salle. The sequence of events then adduced in the critical essay under discussion to "indicate that Father Membré is the author of the Official Report" is based on a number of suppositions for which there is no evidence whatever.

Then, and above all, there is a statement of La Salle himself in which he definitely refers to Father Membré as having reported the expedition in 1682, while he says nothing of a report prepared by himself. In his Memoir of 1684, "reporting to Monseigneur de Seignelay the discoveries made by him under the orders of His Majesty," which was written in the third person, he declared: "He [La Salle] believes that he has sufficiently established the truth of his discovery by the official instrument (*procès-verbal*) signed by all his companions, which was placed last year in the hands of Monseigneur

⁴⁶ M. de Villiers, *La Louisiane*, 19.

⁴⁷ Margry, III, 74.

⁴⁸ *Some La Salle Journeys*, 67, note 10.

⁴⁹ Bernou to Renaudot, May 18, 1683, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:10.

Colbert by the Count de Frontenac, as also by a report drawn up by the Reverend Father Zénoble, missionary, who accompanied him during his voyage, and who is at this time Guardian of Bapaume. . . . All these proofs are sufficient to contradict whatever may have been written to the contrary by persons who have no knowledge of the country, where the discovery was made, never, have been there" (Cox, *Journeys of La Salle*, I, 190). This statement, which we have no reason whatever to question, should remove all doubt as to Father Membré's authorship of the Official Report.

This paragraph concludes the examination of authenticity from extrinsic evidence. A few words only need be said, to show that it is not quite clear how this statement of La Salle proves that Membré wrote the official report. First, the document is attributed to La Salle, a statement which it would be difficult to prove, for it is a copy made by someone unknown. One could make use of the same argument adduced a few pages previously. One of the reasons given to show that the official report was not written by La Salle was because it is written in the third person, which is the natural form for a document written by someone else. The memoir of 1684 is also written in the third person. Secondly, this memoir was written to counteract the opinion, then current in Paris owing to the letters of La Barre, according to which La Salle's discovery was useless,⁵⁰ and not a few were sceptical about its reality.⁵¹ Finally, even if there were no positive evidence that Father Membré did not write the report, it cannot be deduced from this text that he did write a report, still less that he wrote the official report. This is made clear from the French text of the passage:

Il [La Salle] croit avoir suffisamment établi la vérité de sa découverte par l'acte authentique, signé de tous ses gens, qui fut mis l'an passé entre les mains de M^r Colbert par M. le Comte de Frontenac, comme aussi par le rapport qu'en a fait le Révérend Père Zenoble, Recollect missionnaire qui l'a accompagné dans ce voyage et qui présentement est gardien du couvent de Bapaume, par le témoignage de trois de ceux qui l'y ont suivy, qu'il a amenez en France et qui sont à Paris, et par le témoignage de plusieurs autres per-

⁵⁰ Cf. La Barre to Seignelay, November 12, 1682, AC, C 11A, 6:63; Margry, II, 302; November 14, 1682, Margry, II, 304.

⁵¹ Tronson to Belmont, March 13, 1683, no. 191; printed in Margry, II, 305. One year later, in 1684, even people who were well disposed toward La Salle were still sceptical: "I have heard with great pleasure the narrative M. de la Salle made to us of his discovery; it is a beautiful journey which intelligent persons [in Paris] consider very important. If things are as he represents them, you will hear about it in a few months," Tronson to Dollier, April 4, 1684, no. 256.

sonnes venues cette année de Canada, qui ont veu le nommé Vital, envoyé par M. de La Barre pour en apprendre des nouvelles sur les lieux, qui a confirmé la découverte.⁵²

"Faire un rapport de quelque chose à quelqu'un" may mean to make a written report, but it may also mean to give an account by word of mouth. The context shows that the latter is the more correct meaning. Those who doubt the reality of the discovery of La Salle, we are here told, may have recourse to the notarial acts; they may call in some of the witnesses now in Paris, and also Father Membré who is now at Bapaume. When the latter came back from Canada at the beginning of 1683, he told of what had taken place.⁵³ But even if this interpretation were not accepted as a direct proof that Membré did not write a report, it will be perfectly clear from the textual criticism of the document that he did not write the official instrument under consideration. Its authenticity even when based on such arguments as those recited, remains just as inconclusive as it was for Parkman, Shea, and Winsor; these arguments do not dispose of Thomassy's, Gravier's and de Villiers' belief that it was written by La Salle.

Before examining the arguments from internal evidence adduced by Father Habig, there is a last one, from extrinsic evidence, which he did not use and which tends to prove that Father Membré did not write the official report. Bernou, as has been indicated elsewhere at length, was intensely interested in the geography of the Western hemisphere in general and in that of North America in particular.⁵⁴ Thus, in 1682, when the Venetian cartographer Coronelli was busy preparing his famous globe, he had been loaned maps drawn by the abbé. From Rome, whither he had gone as diplomatic agent for the Portuguese government, the latter wrote to his friend Eusèbe Renaudot in Paris to remind Coronelli to return some of his maps. He also asked Renaudot to warn the geographer of the inaccuracies of some of the Sanson maps, and added: "Father Zénobe and *my conclusion* of the relation of the discoveries of M. de La Salle will help him to draw the course of the Mississippi down to the sea."⁵⁵ Bernou evidently thought the missionary still in Paris, and hence Father

⁵² Margry, III, 18-19.

⁵³ "J'ay entretenu le P. Recollect qui a esté avec M. de La Salle, et qui prétend estre descendu sur la rivière de Mississipy jusques dans le golfe de Mexique. Je ne sçais si l'on croira *tout ce qu'il dit*," Tronson to Belmont, March 13, 1683, no. 191; printed in Margry, II, 305. Italics inserted.

⁵⁴ *Some La Salle Journeys*, 11-12, 35-36, 70, etc.

⁵⁵ Bernou to Renaudot, June 27, 1683, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:19v.

Membré could enlighten the cartographer. In 1682, Bernou had ended the *Relation des decouvertes* with these words: "The result [of La Salle's attempt to reach the sea] will be known at the close of the present year, 1682, as he had determined to complete his discovery last spring, at the latest, or to die in the attempt."⁵⁶ "My conclusion of the relation of the discoveries" is nothing else than the official report, which Bernou had drawn up before leaving for Rome.

The second time Bernou mentioned Father Membré in connection with the expedition of 1682, was on the occasion of a letter which Villermont had written deriding La Salle, and maintaining—rightly—that when the explorer returned to the river by way of the Gulf in 1684, he had not found the mouth of the Mississippi. The abbé in Rome answered Villermont that the critic hardly knew what he was talking about. To argue as he does: "He must not have seen the map of M. de la Salle, nor his relations, nor La Salle himself nor Father Zénobe," wrote Bernou to Renaudot.⁵⁷ It seems clear from these two passages that the abbé does not attribute any relation-writing to Father Membré; and if any report had been written other than the one they sponsored, Bernou and most certainly Renaudot would have known it.

After his examination of the external evidence and having concluded that Father Membré is the author of the official report, Father Habig wrote: "Corroborating this conclusion, the three accounts, namely, Father Membré's letter, his *Relation* in Le Clercq's work, and the Official Report, offer abundant evidence that they were composed by the same person—Father Membré." He then repeats what he has alluded to before, that the relation in Le Clercq—undoubtedly Membré's for Father Habig—is much longer, and that it contains a long description of the topography, of the fauna and flora of the Mississippi Valley, all of which suggests the dependence of the official report on the account in Le Clercq, rather than vice-versa.

A parallel table is given showing the concordance between the initial words of the paragraphs in the official report as found in Thomassy and in the Le Clercq narrative. In the comments that follow it is said: "The Official Report contains a few details not mentioned in the missionary's *Relation*, indicating that the person who adapted the latter to make the Official Report had taken part in the expedition and was, in fact, Father Membré

⁵⁶ Margry, I, 544.

⁵⁷ Bernou to Renaudot, August 28, 1685, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:250.

himself." This is said because of two unimportant details which are in the official report and not in the Le Clercq narrative. To insert them one need not have taken part in the expedition, for obviously they are merely stylistic, and were set down by Bernou for effect. One cannot fail to notice the similarity between the quotation above and what Parkman said about the relationship between the two accounts, although what Parkman said is quite different. He wrote that the details added in Le Clercq to the official report are "of a kind which seem to indicate that he [the writer of the narrative in Le Clercq] had taken part in the expedition."⁵⁸ This is correct, because these additions in Le Clercq are taken from a relation by a member of the expedition, but he was not Father Membré.

Finally a comparison is made between the English translation of the three narratives, Membré's letter, the account in Le Clercq, and the official report, with regard to the sojourn of La Salle in the first Arkansas village. Such comparison, it is alleged, points "clearly to identity of authorship." One is less impressed by the parallelism, when one realizes that this is the only long passage in the whole report taken by Bernou from Membré's letter. If the abbé had left this out, the data from Membré's letter which he embodied in his report would not amount to twenty per cent but to a bare five per cent of the entire document. Father Habig's discussion of the authorship closes with these words:

This internal analysis of the three documents, however, merely supplies corroborating evidence that Father Membré is the author of them all; the external facts and arguments adduced above, are of themselves sufficient to establish Father Membré's authorship of the Letter, the Relation and the Official Report.

The above evidence, however, is not acceptable. Although Father Membré wrote the letter in question, and although some passages of it were embodied in the official report, he wrote neither the report itself nor the account found in Le Clercq. Before proving this assertion from internal evidence—the evidence, by the way, which is conclusive in the present case—a word or two must be said about the value of the extrinsic testimony adduced by Father Habig. It comes to this: La Salle is not the author, for he was too ill to write a report; Bernou is not the author, because it is supposed that he was unfriendly to La Salle at the time; and finally, a memoir which is presumed to have

⁵⁸ *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, 276, note 1.

been written by La Salle contains the statement that Father Membré "en a fait un rapport." These three arguments can hardly be described as convincing, and the comparison with Le Clercq is not very helpful. For, as was said above, if it can be shown that Membré did not write the official report which is reproduced almost verbatim in Le Clercq, it necessarily follows that he is not the author of the narrative in the *First Establishment of the Faith*. The relation in Le Clercq is simply the official report, interlarded with excerpts from later accounts of the expedition of 1682. The ascription to Membré prefaced to the relation in the *First Establishment* can hardly be taken as reliable, for the editor of Le Clercq did not hesitate to ascribe to Father Douay Jean Cavelier's own account of the survivors of La Salle's last expedition.⁵⁹ Shea has long ago called attention to the composite character of the *First Establishment*; all that needs to be done now is to ascertain whence the editor of Le Clercq got his materials.

The official report resolves itself into three parts: (1) Tonti's letter of July 23, 1683; (2) Membré's letter of June 3 of the same year; and (3) several paragraphs in neither of the above. Tonti's letter forms about sixty per cent of the report, and the other two about twenty per cent each.

The letter of Father Membré arrived in Quebec before that of Tonti, for the latter wrote from Michilimackinac on July 22, and on August 14, a summary of Membré's letter had already been made by a missionary at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. The sender—Father Le Clercq, it is claimed⁶⁰—and the addressee of the summary are irrelevant. The authenticity of Father Membré's letter is not questioned, and, in any case, it is also irrelevant to the point at issue. What is pertinent, however, is that Membré had nothing to do with at least eighty per cent of the report which he is said to have written. As was noted before, both Membré's and Tonti's letters are found among Bernou's papers, both copied in the same handwriting to form a single transcript of twelve pages. The letter of August 14, dated from St. Bonaventure Island which gives a summary of Membré's is also found in Bernou's papers immediately after the single transcript of the Tonti-Membré letters.

It might perhaps be said that Membré made use of his own letter, together with that of Tonti, weaving them both into the

⁵⁹ *The Journal of Jean Cavelier*, Chicago, 1938, 15-18, 24.

⁶⁰ M. A. Habig, *The Franciscan Père Marquette*, 230, note 1; *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, XXVII, 1934, 306.

official report. This can hardly have been the case. Quite apart from the style which undoubtedly bears Bernou's trade-mark, the authorship of twenty per cent of the report would still have to be accounted for, and this part is so characteristic that no mistake can be made. Moreover, La Salle's friends in Paris did not entrust to any one else the writing of reports which were to be presented to the Court. They wrote them themselves, taking the materials wherever they found them, organizing data, expanding or abbreviating for greater effectiveness. They knew that they themselves were better writers than the explorers and missionaries in the field; they could make better use of data from overseas, so as to promote the interests of everybody concerned with greater chances of success. Bernou was a particularly skillful re-write man whose services were much in demand.⁶¹

After having separated the official report into its component parts, it only remains to ascertain the author of the factual data not found in either Tonti or Membré. If these data could be discovered and traced to their original source, and if they should be among the same papers wherein the transcripts of the letters of the pathfinder and of the missionary are found, it would become more than probable that the original writer of the data in question, is also the author of the report. In this manner the component parts of the report would be all accounted for. That Bernou was the owner of the transcripts is certain. We have yet to prove that he was the original writer of the data in question. It should be noted that the abbé was not very generous in communicating the geographical knowledge he had acquired, especially when, as in this case, it was linked with a long cherished plan of his.⁶² He even withheld some of it from his good friend Renaudot,⁶³ his confederate in the "great design" he had in mind.

For all his shrewdness, Bernou had been hoodwinked by Peñalosa. Since 1678, the abbé had been composing memoir after memoir to prove to the French government how easily Quivira, Theguayo, Nueva Vizcaya, and the whole of New Spain could be conquered, if only "his plan" were put into execution. In one of these memoirs entitled "Project to attack the Spaniards in New Spain by way of New Biscay," he wrote that the Rio de Palmas was 30 leagues north of Pánuco, and that the Rio Bravo was located between the 27th and 28th parallels.⁶⁴

⁶¹ BN, Clairambault, 1016:194-207, 211-219, 295-335, 644-645, 653-654; Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:98, 113, 204v, 214v, etc.

⁶² *Some La Salle Journeys*, 66 ff.

⁶³ Bernou to Renaudot, February 22, 1684, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:98.

⁶⁴ BN, Clairambault, 1016:209.

In the official report there is a paragraph giving information most of which is not found either in Tonti or in Membré. It begins with a sentence giving the length of the Mississippi from the Illinois river to the Gulf, 350 leagues, and the width of the river as one-fourth of a league. This is in Tonti's letter, with the difference that the pathfinder wrote that the Mississippi was as wide as the Loire. Another sentence at the beginning of the same paragraph merely rewords what is found in both Tonti's and Membré's letters, namely, the absence of falls or rapids. The rest of the paragraph informs us that the Rio de Palmas is between 30 and 40 leagues north of Panero (a misreading of Thomassy for Pánuco); that the Rio Bravo is 30 leagues north of Rio de Palmas; and that the Mississippi discovered by La Salle disembogues between the 27th and 28th parallels. In a memoir anterior to the "Project to attack the Spaniards," Bernou had located the mouth of the Rio Bravo on the 27th parallel.⁶⁵ When, however, he read in La Salle's letter that the explorer after having followed the Mississippi to its mouth, had found latitude 27°—Tonti merely says below latitude 29°—Bernou decided to allow for possible errors of calculation, and hence corrected once more the positions where the rivers emptied into the Gulf.

To realize that the two passages above mentioned say the same thing, we must remember that in those days the latitude given for the mouth of Rio Pánuco was inaccurate. On the maps seen by Bernou the mouth of the river was on the tropic of Cancer, that is, latitude 23° 27'.⁶⁶ The true latitude is 22° 15'. The distance from the mouth of the Pánuco to that of the Mississippi is given as between 90 and 100 leagues in the official report; and since the French counted 25 leagues to the degree, it follows that the Mississippi should be between the 27th and 28th parallel. Two years later Bernou was to write: "The Mississippi cannot be far from the Rio Bravo."⁶⁷ Here, in the official report, he pushed the Rio de Palmas up to the north some twenty minutes of arc, and pulled down the Rio Bravo half a degree to the south to make room for the Mississippi, which, according to him, disembogued in the vicinity of Corpus Christi, Texas. This spot, he wrote, is "where some maps locate the Rio de la Madalena, and others Rio Escondido."⁶⁸ Only a man fully abreast of the prog-

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 200.

⁶⁶ Cf. Sanson's map of Florida, 1657, of North America, 1667, 1669; Jaillot's map of North America, 1674, etc.

⁶⁷ Bernou to Renaudot, January 25, 1684, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:86v.

⁶⁸ The position of the various rivers emptying into the Gulf often changed; each cartographer seems to have used his own discretion. In one

ress of geographical knowledge in those days could write such a paragraph.⁶⁹ It is known that Bernou drew or traced numerous maps,⁷⁰ and that he had a wide acquaintance with Spanish, Portuguese and Italian literature in print at that time on the subject of world exploration.⁷¹ On the other hand, there is no evidence that Membré's achievements in cartography and in linguistics are in any way comparable with those of the abbé.

In the same geographical paragraph there is another clue to the identity of its author. The sentence begins with a rewording of the information in Tonti's and Membré's letters. The Mississippi, it is said, is throughout very deep, without sand bars or anything which hinders navigation, *quoy qu'on eut en France publié le contraire*. The order of the sentences of this paragraph is somewhat changed in Le Clercq, and the French sentence just quoted reads: *quoy que l'on aye publié au contraire*.⁷² When Shea first translated what passes for Membré's narrative in Le Clercq, he noted: "We do not know to what Father Membré refers. Marquette's work makes no such assertion of the Mississippi. Hennepin, indeed, says that an Illinois has so stated before La Salle went down."⁷³ In his complete translation of the *First Establishment*, Shea said nothing about the passage.⁷⁴ He had evidently taken the verb *publier* in too narrow a sense, as though it necessarily had to mean that what was objected to was in print. But it may quite simply mean "to utter, to give out," especially since Bernou is very probably referring to a controversy he had with Thévenot with regard to the course of the Mississippi.⁷⁵

map which Bernou saw the two streams *Rio Escondido* and *Rio de la Madalena* are identical, see P. Du-Val, *Le Monde ou la Géographie Universelle*, 2 vols., Paris, 1663, reprinted in 1670, vol. I, the map "La Floride" inserted between pages 54 and 55. The stream empties into the Gulf at latitude 27°.

⁶⁹ Cf. Bernou to Renaudot, July 12, 1684, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:142; February 3, 1684, *ibid.*, 195v.

⁷⁰ Bernou to Renaudot, June 27, 1683, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:19; January 25, 1684, *ibid.*, 87; April 18, 1684, *ibid.*, 119; BN, Clairambault, 1017:133-143.

⁷¹ Cf. his letters in Margry, III, 75, 84; in BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:114v, 250v.

⁷² C. Le Clercq, *Premier Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France*, 2 vols., Paris, 1691, II, 239.

⁷³ J. G. Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, Redfield, 1852, 175, note.

⁷⁴ *First Establishment of the Faith*, II, 179.

⁷⁵ Cf. the letter of Delisle to Cassini, in J. F. Bernard, *Recueil de voyages au Nord*, Amsterdam, 1732, IV, 563; there are only a few verbal changes between this passage of the printed letter and the manuscript draft in the Archives du Service Hydrographique, 115-10:n. 17, *pièce B*. See also, Bernou to Renaudot, February 22, 1684, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:99v; and February 29, 1684, Margry, III, 74.

Another insertion not found in either Tonti's or Membré's letter, points to Bernou as the compiler of the official report—namely, the location of the Ohio River. "The Ohio River which has its headwaters in the Iroquois country discharges itself into the Mississippi opposite this village" (the first Arkansas village where La Salle stopped several days). At first, it is rather startling to read of such vagaries of the Ohio River, which is here described as emptying itself some three degrees below its actual mouth, if the distance be measured in a straight line, and nearly double this distance, four hundred miles, if we follow the meandering course of the Mississippi. At this date Tonti had not yet identified the *Ouabache* with the Ohio, and there is no evidence that Membré ever did. The vagaries of the Ohio do not appear in Le Clercq's account; and on the map published with the *First Establishment*, the river is marked as a tributary of the *Ouabache*. This came from a better knowledge of the waterways of the Mississippi Valley when Le Clercq's book was compiled. But in the first months of 1683, Bernou was frankly puzzled by what he had read in the letters of La Salle of the hydrography of the Mississippi Basin.⁷⁶ To enter into details at this place would unduly lengthen this article. Two remarks, however, may be made. First, Bernou seems to have thought that there were two Ohio rivers;⁷⁷ and secondly, the description of the course of the Ohio as found in the official report is a further indication that La Salle did not discover this river either in 1669 or later. The text upon which this alleged discovery is based has also Bernou for its author.

The controversy between Thévenot and Bernou was mentioned above, Coronelli sided with his friend the abbé in this controversy.⁷⁸ Most of the items which the Venetian cartographer incorporated into his map of 1688—and into the later maps, merely variations of the first—on which he was already at work in 1683, was derived from information contained in the official report. This information, found in neither Tonti nor Membré, is Bernou's own conception, or rather misconception of the Mississippi Valley partly based on some letters of La Salle.

Between 1683 and 1688, when his maps were engraved and published, Coronelli had received in the meantime other accounts

⁷⁶ Margry, II, 80, 98, 141, 243.

⁷⁷ Bernou to Renaudot, February 1, 1684, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:89.

⁷⁸ Cf. letter of Delisle to Cassini, *supra*, note 75. A legend on Coronelli's map of North America, western section, *Atlante Veneto*, Venice, 1690, reads: "Il F. Mechissippi conserva sempre la med. larghezza da questo segno* [latitude 39°] in' al mare, ch'e navigable senza rapidita."

of the 1682 journey to the Gulf, and incorporated the information into his first map. For instance he had access to the relation of the younger La Salle. This narrative is the only one which mentions the *Rivière aux Risques*,⁷⁹ and the geographer drew it on his map. The text of Coronelli also shows that he had the official report. Twice he speaks of the Mississippi. The first time he merely mentions the general course of the river.⁸⁰ From the mouth of the Illinois he passes immediately to the ceremony which took place near the mouth of the Mississippi, April 7, 1682; but the second time, he gives a full description of the river and of its tributaries. Below Fort Prudhomme: "Gli altri Fiumi fin' à quest' hora conosciuti, che tributano le loro acque al Colbert sono; il Chepoutia, e l'Ohio, ò Belle Riviere, tra' quali è una grand' Isola dove il Sig. della Salle fabbricò un forte li 14 Marzo 1682."⁸¹ The *Chepoutia* river is not shown on the map, but the Ohio, as a stream distinct from, and with a course parallel to the Ouabache three degrees to the south, empties into the Mississippi opposite the Arkansas village where La Salle stopped.⁸² Since we know how closely Bernou and Coronelli worked together, this point serves to indicate, without further elaboration who supplied this information to the geographer and consequently who compiled the official report.

A parenthesis is not out of place at this stage of the argumentation. The authorship of certain paragraphs of the official report which contain information not to be found in either Tonti or Membré has been ascertained from what is known of the activities of Bernou, as evidenced by his letters to Renaudot and by the numerous memoirs he has left. On a former occasion when the present writer made use of a similar method some critics described the procedure as involved and more or less useless. To what extent the adjective "useless" is justified depends on one's concept of history. Are we to say that one must never mistrust traditional ascriptions? that one must accept uncritically, as if afraid to lose a single one, all pieces of informa-

⁷⁹ Margry, I, 560.

⁸⁰ *Atlante Veneto*, 29.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 132.

⁸² "America Settentrionale Colle Nuove Scoperte fin all'anno 1688," in *Atlante Veneto*, 56-57. In the "Recueil des Inscriptions des remarques historiques et géographiques qui sont sur le Globe Terrestre de Marly," BN, Mss. fr. 13365:75, the globe which was constructed by Coronelli, the latitude of the mouth of the Ohio is given as follows: "La Riviere Ohio, ou la Belle Riviere, ainsy appelee pour sa beauté, par laquelle les Européens n'ont pas encore descendu qu'a l'embouchure a 31 degrez 26 minutes dans la Riviere Mississipi. . . ." The latitude of the mouth of the Ohio on the map in the *Atlante Veneto* is about 31° 30'.

tion, ancient or modern, good or bad, from whatever quarter they may come? Do documents, like wine, improve with age? Do they become more authentic, more trustworthy because some *littérateur*, some popularizer, some historian or other who did not bother to criticize his sources have accepted them? Does such acceptance confer on documents, manuscript or printed, an authority which they lack of themselves? The answer has been given long since:

The critical investigation of authorship saves historians from huge blunders. Its results are striking. By eliminating spurious documents, by detecting false ascriptions, by determining the conditions of production of documents which have been defaced by time, and by connecting them with their sources, it has rendered services of such magnitude that today it is regarded as having a special to the name of "criticism."⁸³

That such a procedure is "involved" should not surprise any one, considering that those who concocted some of these 'original' documents had every interest in covering up their tracks. What is surprising, however, is that this "involved" procedure should appear objectionable; except, of course, to dilettanti who pass judgment on matters outside their sphere.

The last lines of the report are also the contribution of the compiler. La Salle's forty-day illness,⁸⁴ and the amount of his indebtedness (nearly 200,000 livres), are mentioned in the letter which he wrote from Michilimackinac in October 1682.⁸⁵ This autograph letter, as well as a copy of the same, is found among Bernou's papers, and it may be considered as almost certain that the letter was addressed to him. Membré, of course, might have told Bernou how long La Salle's illness lasted; he might even have mentioned the amount of money which La Salle owed to his creditors, though this is rather unlikely, since La Salle confided his affairs to very few, and mostly to those alone whom he thought could effectively help him. In the last lines of the report is also found a comparison between La Salle and the Spanish *conquistadores*, to the manifest advantage of the former. This

⁸³ C. V. Langlois and C. Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History*, New York, 1898, 98.

⁸⁴ La Salle to —, [October 1682], BN, Clairambault, 1016:148; Margry, II, 288.

⁸⁵ La Salle to —, [October 1682], BN, Clairambault, 1016:150v; Margry, II, 301. The text in the manuscript has: "J'envoyeral l'année prochaine un estat justifié des despenses que j'ay faites pour cela qui se montent avec mes pertes a pres [Margry has "plus"] de deux cents mil livres avec les cartes et memoires que vous pouvez souhaiter *si je ne les porte moy mesme.*" Margry left out the words in italics.

is quite typical of Bernou, who more than once indulged in such hyperboles.⁸⁶

Thus there seems little room for doubt about the identity of the compiler of the official report. The materials for more than half of it are found exclusively in a letter of Tonti; one-fifth of it is obviously taken from a letter of Membré; copies of both these letters are found among the papers of Bernou who is clearly and solely the author of another fifth of the document. Naturally enough the abbé left his mark on the compilation; he changed words and recast sentences so as to make it read more smoothly; he blended into a continuous narrative the elements which he found in the separate letters of Tonti, Membré, and La Salle; he omitted few facts, few dates, few distances, few important peculiarities, given either by Tonti or by Membré. It is interesting to note that he found three times more to his purpose in the narration of the soldier than in that of the missionary.

The accuracy of the geographical details which are mentioned in the report about the Mississippi and its tributaries is not being discussed here, since these details are to be treated at length in a forthcoming work on the cartography of the Mississippi. As was suggested before in this article, the strangeness of some of the geographical details is what made it necessary to examine the evidence here presented by way of settling the authorship of the report.

The main conclusions which follow from the present identification need not be elaborated here. An important one has already been pointed out: the narrative in Le Clercq, an almost verbatim reproduction of the official report, can no longer be regarded as the work of Membré, in spite of the statement in Le Clercq to that effect. It is apparent that a critical study of the two volumes of the *First Establishment* is needed. The book should not be quoted as authoritative until the real author of the statements found therein has been identified in each case. The editor ascribed to Douay an account which is Jean Cavelier's, and to Membré Bernou's compilation. After two such false ascriptions, more than a mere assertion on his part is needed to carry conviction. Statements which cannot be traced to their authors must be credited to the unknown editor of the *First Establishment*, who can hardly be relied upon for trustworthiness. He ended chapter XX with an hexameter: "Postera vix credet, praesens mirabitur aetas." Seeing how little credence may be

⁸⁶ Cf. Margry, II, 442, 610; BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:87, 94, 114, etc.

given to his account, one can hardly avoid noting the unintended and sinister significance of the words: "Postera vix credet . . . aetas."

Of special interest, moreover, is the bearing which this identification has upon a moot question. So long as the authorship of the official report remained doubtful, or was attributed to Membré, only indirect arguments could be adduced to refute the tale found in Hennepin's *Nouvelle Decouverte* and repeated in the *Nouveau Voyage*.⁸⁷ Hennepin's story is as follows: In 1681, when he arrived at Quebec from the West, he gave to Father Leroux, his "journal" of the descent to the mouth of the Mississippi, and Leroux had time to copy it before Hennepin's departure for France. Leroux gave this copy to Le Clercq, who embodied it in the *First Establishment of the Faith* as Membré's narrative of La Salle's expedition. Since the "journal" is not that of Membré—only a small part of his letter was incorporated in the report—and since it was compiled in France in 1683, after Hennepin had left Paris,⁸⁸ his accusations of plagiarism appear, to say the least, somewhat misdirected.

Even if Hennepin had still been in Paris when the official report was compiled, Bernou would certainly not have shown it to him. The only autograph letter of the missionary that has come to light thus far in the French Archives, makes clear how strained were the relations between the abbé and the missionary at the time the official report was compiled,⁸⁹ and their relations did not improve subsequently.⁹⁰ Furthermore, if Hennepin had gone down to the mouth of the Mississippi and had seen the "journal" or the report, would he not have been perturbed at the discrepancy in these documents regarding the position of the mouth of the Ohio? Another peculiarity may also be noted which conclusively disposes of the "journal-given-to-Leroux" theory.⁹¹ It can safely be asserted that Hennepin did not see Tonti's letter. Neither did he see such passages of this letter as

⁸⁷ *Nouvelle decouverte d'un tres grand Pays, situé dans l'Amerique, entre le Nouveau Mexique, et la Mer Glaciale*, Utrecht, 1697, 503-505; *Nouveau Voyage d'un Pais plus grand que l'Europe Avec les reflections des entreprises du Sieur de la Salle, sur les Mines de Ste Barbe, &c.*, Utrecht, 1698, preface.

⁸⁸ Cf. H. Lemay, "Le Père Louis Hennepin, récollet, à Paris, 1682," in *Nos Cahiers*, III, 1938, 140.

⁸⁹ Hennepin to Renaudot, BN, Clairambault, 286:244-244v; printed in Margry, III, 305; in Lemay, *Bibliographie du Père Louis Hennepin, récollet, Les Pièces documentaires*, Montreal, 1937, 37.

⁹⁰ Bernou to Renaudot, May 18, 1683, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:10; February 1, 1684, *ibid.*, 89.

⁹¹ "Hennepin's Voyage to the Gulf of Mexico, 1680," in *MID-AMERICA*, XXI, 1939, 37-38.

are reproduced word for word in the official report, since he had no access to the report itself. From the report, these passages were taken over into the *First Establishment*, and thence into the *New Discovery* as a transcription of Hennepin's own journal! It is not easy to believe that Hennepin and Tonti, in describing the journey to the Gulf at two years' interval, would use exactly the same words.⁹²

It is difficult to show graphically just how Tonti's account formed the basis of the Official Relation compiled by Bernou. To do this it was deemed best to present the Official Relation in different types, unpleasing though it may be to the eye, and then to give four charts as graphic illustrations of the four accounts of the trip. In the following document, the Official Relation, what is Tonti's is set up in *this type*; what is in Membré's letter is in *this type*; specific details in both sources are **IN THIS TYPE**; and the connecting sentences and what is Bernou's are in *this type*. Variants are given in the notes. These serve to illustrate the craftsmanship of the re-write man.

⁹² I. Tonti's letter: "Le village de Taensa est scitué sur un petit lac formé dans les terres par le fleuve." Official Report: "Les Taensa habitent autour d'un petit lac formé dans les terres par le fleuve Mississipi." Le Clercq: "Les Taensa qui habitent autour d'un petit Lac formé dans les terres par le Fleuve Mississipi." *Nouvelle Decouverte*: "Ces Sauvages [Taensas] demeurent près d'un petit Lac, que le Fleuve Meschasipi forme dans les terres."—II. Tonti's letter: "Ils [Taensa] . . . sont vestus de couvertes blanches qu'ils font d'escorce d'Arbres fruitiers." Official Report: "Ils sont vestus de couvertures blanches faites d'une ecorce d'arbre qu'ils filent." Le Clercq: "Ils sont vêtus de couvertes blanches faites d'une ecorce d'arbre qu'ils filent." *Nouvelle Decouverte*: "Il [Taensa chief] étoit couvert d'une Robbe ou couverture blanche faite d'une ecorce d'Arbre qu'ils filent en ce pays-là."

Relation De La Decouverte

DE L'EMBOUCHURE DE LA RIVIÈRE MISSISSIPI DANS LE
GOLFE DE MEXIQUE,
FAITE PAR LE SIEUR DE LA SALLE, L'ANNÉE PASSÉE 1682

River
Tonty
Le sieur de la Salle s'embarqua sur le lac Taronto qui se décharge dans le lac des Hurons, à la fin du mois d'aoust de l'année 1681, et il arriva vers la commencement de novembre à la rivière de Miamis, au fond du lac des Illinois, du costé du sud.¹ Il travailla d'abord, après son arrivée, à préparer toutes les choses nécessaires pour achever sa découverte. Il choisit 23 François et 18 Nahingans² et Abenakis, sauvages qui avoient quitté leur pays voisin de la Nouvelle Angleterre, et s'estoient mis sous sa protection. Ils voulurent mener avec eux dix de leurs femmes, pour leur aprestre à manger selon leur coustume pendant qu'ils seroient à la chasse ou à la pesche, et ces femmes conduisirent avec elles trois enfans. Ainsy toute la troupe fut composée de 54 personnes, entre lesquelles étoient le sieur De Tonty, le père Zénobe, recollet, et le sieur Dautray, fils du procureur général de Québec.

Membre
Bolt
Le 21 décembre, le sieur de la Salle fit embarquer Le sieur De Tonty³ avec une partie de ses gens sur le lac des Illinois, pour aller vers la rivière Divine appelée par les sauvages CHECAGOU, afin d'y préparer des canots et les autres choses nécessaires pour son voyage. Le S^r De la Salle l'y joignit avec le reste de la troupe le 4 de janvier 1682, et trouva que le sieur De Tonty. LA RIVIÈRE CHECAGOU ESTANT GLACÉE, avoit fait faire des traîneaux pour y mettre tout leur équipage.

Ils partirent de cet endroit le 27^e du mesme mois, et traînèrent leur bagage⁴ et leurs provisions environ 80 lieues. Ils passèrent par le grand village des Illinois où ils ne trouvèrent personne, les sauvages estant allés hiverner ailleurs. Trente lieues plus bas et au bout d'un élargissement de la rivière nommé le lac de Pimedy, où estoit scitué le fort de Crèvecoeur, ILS TROUVERENT LES GLACES fondues.⁵ Ainsy ils s'embarquèrent dans leurs canots et arrivèrent le 6 février⁶ à l'embouchure de la rivière des Illinois, scituée au 38^e degré de latitude.

Les glaces qui dérhoient sur la rivière Mississipi les arrêterent en cet endroit jusqu'au⁷ 13^e du mesme mois. Ils en partirent le mesme jour, et trouvèrent à six lieues plus bas, sur la main droite, une grande rivière qui vient de l'ouest, appelée la rivière de Missouri. Le 14^e, à six lieues

¹ This was known from two letters of La Salle written in the summer of 1681, BN, Clairambault, 1016:53-64, 170-187; Margry, II, 115-159, 212-262.

² A misprint in Thomassy; Tonty has Mahingans; Thomassy himself has Mahingans later in the report. The Renaudot copy has Mahingans.

³ When the official report has "le Sieur de Tonty" as here, Tonty's letter has the singular of the first personal pronoun. This passage reads: "Je partis le 21 decembre." Membre has more often "nous." The purpose of the report required that Bernou should make these changes.

⁴ "Equipage" instead of "bagage" in Membre.

⁵ Both have "ayant trouvé la navigation libre."

⁶ "Au fleuve Colbert autrement Mississipi," Tonty: "au fleuve Mississipi," Membre.

⁷ Membre has: "Nous en partismes le . . ."

de là, ils virent à la main gauche le village de Tamaroa, où ils ne rencontrèrent personne parce qu'ils étoient tous allés à la chasse vers la rivière Ouabache, à 46 lieues de là.⁸ Le sieur de la Salle laissa dans ce village, ainsi qu'il en avoit laissé dans celui des Illinois des marques de sa venue en paix et des signes de sa route qu'il continua durant plus de 100 lieues sans rencontrer aucun homme.⁹

Il alloit à petites journées, parce que n'ayant pu porter d'autres provisions que de bled d'Inde, il étoit obligé de faire chasser¹⁰ presque tous les jours. Il fit néanmoins 42 lieues sans s'arrêter, à cause que les rivages étoient bas et marécageux et pleins de cannes fort épaisses.¹¹

Le 24 fevrier, ceux qu'il avoit envoyés à la chasse revinrent tous, à la réserve d'un de ses gens nommé Pierre Prudhomme; et les autres ayant rapporté qu'ils avoient vu des pistes d'hommes, on craignit qu'il n'eût été pris ou tué par les sauvages. Aussytost le sieur De la Salle fit faire un fort et ordonna à des François et à des sauvages de suivre les pistes qu'on avoit veues.¹²

Le 1^{er} du mois de mars, Gabriel minime et deux des sauvages¹³ du sieur de la Salle découvrirent cinq sauvages dont ils en prirent DEUX, et les amenèrent au fort où le sieur De la Salle leur fit beaucoup de carresses. Il apprit qu'ILS ESTOIENT d'une nation appelée SICACHA,¹⁴ et que leur village n'étoit éloigné que d'une journée et demie. Ainsy il partit avec la moitié de ses gens pour y aller, dans l'espérance d'apprendre des nouvelles de Prudhomme. Mais apres avoir marché durant un jour et demy, il reconnut qu'ils estoient encore bien éloignés du village et que ces deux sauvages l'avoient trompé. Il leur en fit des plaintes¹⁵ et ils luy avouèrent qu'il y avoit encore trois journées, offrant toutefois que l'un d'eux demeureroit avec luy pendant que l'autre iroit au village dont les chefs se rendoient incessamment au bord du fleuve.¹⁶ Le sieur de la Salle accepta leurs offres, et en ayant renvoyé un avec quelques présens de marchandises, il ramena l'autre à son fort. Mais Prudhomme qui s'étoit égaré à la chasse fut retrouvé le mesme jour. Ainsy le S^r De la Salle renvoya aussy l'autre sauvage avec des présens.

Le 3^e il continua sa route,¹⁷ et le 15^e¹⁸ après avoir navigué 45 lieues, ILS

⁸ This is taken almost word for word from Tonti. Membré simply wrote: "et vinsmes le lendemain dans un village abandonné comme celui des Illinois."

⁹ "Sans voir personne," Membré.

¹⁰ "Pour vivre," Membré.

¹¹ "Ensuite ayant trouvé 42 lieues de pays de cannes et noyé, nous chassames," Tonti.

¹² Membré merely states: "Un des nostres s'estant égaré dans les bois à la chasse on demeura huit jours à le chercher."

¹³ Tonti specifies: "Loups," that is, Mohicans.

¹⁴ The spelling of the word "Sicacha" is as in Tonti.

¹⁵ "Il temoigna estre fâché de ce qu'ils mentoient," Tonti. The Renaudot copy has "reproches."

¹⁶ This passage is almost a verbatim transcription of Tonti's letter, Bernou rearranged a few sentences.

¹⁷ Prudhomme was found "le deux" March, according to Tonti; the ninth day, according to Membré; both say that the party left the day after Prudhomme was found, hence March 3.

¹⁸ "Nous nous trouvâmes vis-à-vis d'un grand village des Akansas," Membré.

ENTENDIRENT battre le tambour et faire **DES CRIS DE GUERRE**,¹⁹ ce qui leur fit juger qu'ils avoient esté decouverts par quelques sauvages, dont en effet ils virent aussytost le village à la droite de la rivière.

Le sieur De la Salle fit d'abord passer ses canots **A L'AUTRE BORD**, où, en une heure, il **FIT CONSTRUIRE UN FORT** de pieux et d'arbres abattus sur une pointe de terre afin d'éviter d'estre surpris, et pour donner aux sauvages le temps de se rassurer. Il fit ensuite avancer quelques uns de ses gens sur le bord de la rivière **QUI APPELERENT LES SAUVAGES**.²⁰ Leurs chefs envoyèrent une pirogue qui s'avança à la portée du fusil. **ON LEUR PRÉSENTA LE CALUMET** de paix, et deux sauvages s'estant avancés et invitant par leurs gestes les François d'aller à eux, **LE SIEUR DE LA SALLE Y ENVOYA un François et DEUX de ses sauvages**²¹ qui furent receus et régalez avec beaucoup de marques d'amitié. Six des principaux les ramenèrent dans la mesme pirogue, et entrèrent dans le fort où le sieur de la Salle **LEUR FIT DES PRÉSENS** de tabac et de quelques marchandises. Ils lui firent à leur tour présent de quelques esclaves, et ensuite le plus considérable d'entre eux le convia d'aller à leur village pour s'y rafraischir avec tous ses gens; à quoy le sieur de la Salle consentit. Tous ceux du village, à la réserve des femmes qui avoient d'abord pris la fuite, vinrent au bord de la rivière pour le recevoir.²² Ils voulurent ensuite enmener ses gens en diverses cabanes pour les mieux régaler; mais le sieur de la Salle ne jugeant pas à propos de les laisser escarter, témoigna que ses gens ne se séparaient pas volontiers les uns des autres. Les sauvages consentirent facilement à les laisser ensemble et bastirent les cabanes qui leur estoient nécessaires, leur portèrent du bois à brusler, leur fournirent des vivres en abondance et leur firent des festins continuels durant trois jours que le sieur de la Salle y demeura.

Les femmes estant venues leur apportèrent du bled d'Inde, des fèves, de la farine et des fruits de diverses sortes, et on leur fit en récompense de petits présens qu'elles admirèrent.

Ces sauvages ne ressembloient pas à ceux du Nord, qui sont tous d'une humeur triste et sévère. Ceux-ci sont beaucoup mieux faits: honnestes, libéraux et d'une humeur gaye. La jeunesse mesme est si modeste, que, quoiqu'ils eussent une forte envie de voir M. De la Salle, ils se tenoient néanmoins à la porte, sans bruit et sans oser y entrer. On y vit un grand nombre de poules, beaucoup de sortes de fruits et des pesches déjà formées sur les arbres quoi qu'on fust au commencement de mars.

La rivière Ohio, qui a sa source dans le pays des Iroquois, se décharge dans le fleuve Mississipi, vis-à-vis de ce village.

Le 14 du mesme mois, le sieur de la Salle prit possession de ce pays avec beaucoup de cérémonies, faisant planter une croix et **Y ARBORANT LES ARMES DU ROY**.²³ Les sauvages en témoignèrent une joye extraordinaire, et le sieur De la Salle, à son retour de la mer, trouva qu'ils

¹⁹ Tonti gives 44 leagues; instead of "cris de guerre," he has "Sasacouest."

²⁰ "Par le cri de Nicana," Membre.

²¹ Here again Tonti specifies, "Loups." Membre: "deux des nostres."

²² Membre's text was only slightly changed, the rest of this paragraph and the next one were recast by Bernou.

²³ "De sa M. T. Chrétienne," Tonti.

avoient entouré cette croix d'une palissade.²⁴ **ILS LUI DONNÈRENT** ensuite des provisions, et quelques **HOMMES POUR LE CONDUIRE**²⁵ et luy servir d'interprètes chez les Taensa, leurs alliés, qui sont éloignés de 80 lieues de ce village.

Le 17, le sieur de la Salle continua sa route; et, à six lieues de là, il vit un autre village des Akansa, et un troisième, trois lieues plus bas,²⁶ où il fut aussy fort bien receu; mais il ne s'y arresta pas, et il en partit après y avoir fait des présens.

Le 22, **IL ARRIVA CHEZ LES TAENSA**,²⁷ qui habitent autour d'un petit lac formé dans les terres par le fleuve Mississippi. Ils ont huit villages; les murailles de leurs maisons²⁸ sont faites de terres mêlées de paille, le toit est de cannes qui forment un dome orné de peinture. Ils ont des lits de bois²⁹ et beaucoup d'autres meubles, et d'embellissements. **ILS ONT DES TEMPLES** où ils enterrent les os de leurs capitaines; et ils sont vestus de couvertures blanches faites d'une écorce d'arbre qu'ils filent. Leur chef est absolu et dispose de tout sans consulter personne. Il est servi par des esclaves, ainsy que tous ceux de sa famille. On luy appreste à manger hors de sa cabane, et on luy sert à boire dans une tasse particulière avec beaucoup de propreté.³⁰ Ses femmes et ses enfans sont traittez de mesme, et tous les autres Taensa luy parlent avec respect et avec de grandes cérémonies.³¹

Le sieur de la Salle, estant fatigué et ne pouvant aller³² luy mesme chez les Taensa, y avoit envoyé le sieur De Tonty avec des présens. Le chef de cette nation ne se contenta pas d'envoyer quantité de vivres au sieur de la Salle et de lui faire des presens, il voulut aussy lui rendre visite. Un maistre de cérémonies vint deux heures auparavant, suivi de six hommes à qui il fit nettoyer le chemin par où il devoit passer. Il luy fit préparer une place et la fit couvrir d'une natte de cannes très délicatement travaillée. Ce chef arriva ensuite vestu d'une très-belle nappe ou couverture blanche; deux hommes le précédoient, portant des éventails de plumes blanches; un troisième portoit une lame de cuivre une plaque ronde de mesme matière, toutes deux très polies. Il conserva une gravité extraordinaire dans cette visite, qui fut néanmoins pleine de confiance et de marques d'amitié.³³

Tout ce pays est garny palmiers, de **LAURIERS** de deux sortes,³⁴ de pruniers, de peschers, de meuriers, de noyers de cinq ou six sortes, dont

²⁴ One detail given by Membre was omitted by Bernou; the Indians were so glad that "ils se frottoient le corps après l'avoir frotté à la colonne."

²⁵ "Ils nous donnerent des guides," Tonti.—"Les Akansas nous avoient donné deux hommes pour nous servir de guides," Membre."

²⁶ Bernou misread this text of Tonti "Après avoir entré dans deux autres villages des Akansas distant de 6. et trois lieues du 1^{er}."

²⁷ Membre says that it took the party five days to travel from the Arkansas to the Taensa. The text of the missionary's letter in Margry has that they left the Arkansas village, March 17; this date is an addition by Margry, the manuscript gives no date.

²⁸ "Les cabanes," Tonti.

²⁹ "Des lits de camp manière de menuiserie," Tonti.

³⁰ Paraphrase of Membre's letter.

³¹ Paraphrase of Tonti's letter.

³² "N'y vouloit pas aller," wrote Tonti.

³³ This is the last long excerpt from Membre's letter. Bernou changed the text slightly and shortened it a little. After "plumes blanches" he omitted the following words: "comme pour chasser les mauvais esprits."

³⁴ "Palmiers, lauriers françois, et Espagnols . . . Capelliers," Tonti.

quelques-uns portent des noix d'une grosseur extraordinaire, et de beaucoup d'autres sortes d'arbres fruitiers dont la saison trop peu avancée empescha de reconnoître les fruits.

Les guides ne voulurent pas aller plus loin, craignant de rencontrer leurs ennemis, parce que les peuples qui habitent un des rivages de cette rivière sont ennemis de tous ceux de l'autre: il y a 34 villages du costé droit et 40 du costé gauche.

Le 26^e de mars, le sieur De la Salle continua sa navigation; on découvrit à douze lieues de là un pirogue,³⁵ auquel le sieur De Tonti donna chasse jusqu'à ce que, approchant du rivage, on vit un grand nombre de sauvages. Aussytost le sieur de la Salle, suivant sa précaution ordinaire, gagna le rivage opposé d'où il leur envoya le calumet de paix par le mesme sieur De Tonti.

Quelques-uns de ces sauvages traversèrent la rivière, et on apprit d'eux qu'ils estoient de la nation des Nachié, ennemis des Taensa;³⁶ toutefois, le sieur De la Salle alla dans leur village, éloigné de trois lieues de la rivière, et y coucha; il y fut visité par le chef des Koroa, que les Nachié, leurs allies, avoit fait avertir pendant la nuit.

Le lendemain, le sieur De la Salle, après avoir fait des présents aux Nachié, revint dans son camp avec le chef des Koroa³⁷ qui l'accompagna jusque dans son village, scitué dix lieues plus bas, sur un costeau entouré de belles prairies. Ce chef fit présent au sieur de la Salle d'un calumet, le régala avec tous ses gens, et lui dit qu'il y avoit encore dix journées jusqu'à la mer. On partit de ce village le 29^e de mars.³⁸ Un peu au dessous, la rivière estant divisée en deux par une isle de 40 lieues de longueur, ils prirent un bras pour l'autre, ce qui les empescha de voir dix autres nations.³⁹

Le 2^e d'avril, après avoir navigé 40 lieues,⁴⁰ ils virent des pêcheurs de la nation appelée Quinipisa, qui prirent la fuite, et aussytost après on entendit des cris de guerre⁴¹ et battre le tambour. Quatre François allèrent leur présenter le calumet avec ordre de ne point tirer, mais ces sauvages leur décochèrent des flèches. Quatre Mahingans y allèrent après, qui eurent un pareil succès. Ainsi le sieur de la Salle, voyant ces sauvages si peu sociables, continua sa route.⁴² **DEUX LIEUES PLUS BAS**, ils entrèrent dans un village appelé Tangibao, où ils trouvèrent trois cabanes pleines d'HOM-

³⁵ "Canots de bois," Tonti.

³⁶ Membré does not mention the Natchez; he passes from the Taensa to the Koroa.

³⁷ Membré merely mentions the arrival; the Koroa "qui demeurent sur les montagnes," are one day's journey from the Taensa.

³⁸ "Jour de Pasques," wrote Tonti, and he repeated it farther down. Peculiarly enough, neither Membré nor Bernou say anything about this feast, but the editor of Le Clercq amply compensates for their silence; the Renaudot copy has "jour de Pasques."

³⁹ "Nous manquames dix autres nations ayant pris un chenal pour un autre d'une Isle qui a environ 40 lieues de long," Tonti.

⁴⁰ Membré speaks of the Huma, located one day's journey from the Koroa, "nous en passames le village sans les apercevoir." This is the only important fact which is in Membré's letter and which was omitted by Bernou. It should be noted that the Huma are not mentioned in Le Clercq either.

⁴¹ "Sasacouest," as before.

⁴² In Membré, there is a bare mention of the reception of the party by these Indians, as well as a few lines about the attack when they returned from the sea.

MES MORTS,⁴³ qui paroissent avoir esté tuez il y avoit environ vingt jours, et le reste du village bruslé et saccagé Ils navigèrent ensuite encore 40 lieues, au bout desquelles, le 6^e d'avril, il virent que la rivière se divisoit en trois branches. Le lendemain, 7^e, le sieur De la Salle alla reconnoître le chenal qui estoit à la droite. Il envoya le sieur De Tonty visiter celui du milieu, et le sieur Dautray celui qui estoit à la gauche. Ils estoient tous trois fort beaux et fort profonds. Au bout de deux lieues, ils trouvèrent l'eau salée, et peu de temps après la pleine mer,⁴⁴ où ils s'avancèrent un peu pour la mieux reconnoître. Ils remontèrent par les mesmes canaux, et se rassemblèrent tous avec une joye extrême d'avoir heureusement achevé un si grande entreprise.

Le 9^e d'avril, le sieur de la Salle fit **PLANTER UNE CROIX ET ARBORER LES ARMES**⁴⁵ de France, et après qu'on eut chanté l'hymne Vexilla et le Te Deum, il prit au nom du Roy, possession de ce fleuve, de toutes les rivières qui y entrent et de tous les pais qu'elles arrosent.⁴⁶ Il en fit faire un acte authentique signé de tous ses gens, et, ayant fait faire une décharge de fusils, il fit mettre en terre une plaque de plomb où les armes de France⁴⁷ et les noms de ceux qui venoient de faire la découverte estoient gravez.

Il a suivi durant 350 lieues la rivière Mississipi qui conserve jusqu'à la mer sa largeur de près d'un quart de lieue. Elle est fort profonde partout, **SANS AUCUN BANC NY RIEN QUI EMPESCHE LA NAVIGATION**,⁴⁸ quoy qu'on eut en France publié le contraire. Elle tombe dans le golfe du Mexique au delà de la baye du Saint-Esprit, entre le 27^e et le 28^e degré de latitude, et à l'endroit où quelques cartes marquent le Rio de la Madalena, et d'autres Rio Escondido: elle est éloignée d'environ trente lieues de Rio Bravo, de 60 de Rio de Palmas, et de 90 à 100 lieues de Rio Panero, où est la plus prochaine habitation des Espagnols sur la coste. Le sieur de la Salle, qui porte toujours dans ses voyages un astrolabe, a pris la hauteur précise de cette embouchure.

Le 10^e d'avril, le sieur de la Salle commença à remonter la rivière, et il arriva le 12 au village détruit appelé Tangibao; les vivres luy ayant manqué depuis quelques jours, il résolut de tascher d'en obtenir des sauvages voisins.⁴⁹ Ceux qu'il envoya à la descouverte luy amenèrent quatre femmes de la nation des Quinipisa, qui avoient tiré des flèches sur ses gens. Il alla camper vis-à-vis de leur village, et, une pirogue ayant paru,⁵⁰ il présenta luy-mesme le calumet de paix aux sauvages qui se retirèrent sans le recevoir. Alors il mit une de ces femmes à terre avec un présent de haches,

⁴³ "Des cadavres," Tonti.

⁴⁴ Membre merely states: "Nous arrivâmes le 7 Avril, fort heureusement a la mer."

⁴⁵ "Après avoir planté la croix de Nostre Seigneur et arboré les armes du Roy, comme chez les Akansas, et remercié Dieu de nous avoir fait la grâce de la descouverte de la mer," is Membre's version of the ceremony which took place near the mouth of the Mississippi.

⁴⁶ "Et des nations qui peuvent y estre," Tonti.

⁴⁷ "Les armes du Roy," Tonti.

⁴⁸ See *supra*, introduction.

⁴⁹ "M. de la Salle désiroit d'avoir du blé de gré ou de force," Tonti.

⁵⁰ "Il passa l'après dîne un Canot qui vint nous braver," wrote Tonti; Bernou probably thought this too impudent on the part of the Indians; he changed the words as in the text.

de cousteaux et de rasade, luy faisant entendre que les trois autres la suivroient bientost, et qu'elle luy fist apporter du bled d'Inde.

Le lendemain, quelques sauvages ayant paru à terre, le sieur De la Salle alla les trouver, et il conclut la paix avec eux; il receut et donna des ostages, et alla camper auprès de leur village, où l'on luy apporta quelque peu de blé; le soir il renvoya les femmes et retira ses gens.⁵¹ Le jour d'après, avant le jour, celui qui estoit en sentinelle⁵² avertit qu'il entendoit du bruit parmy les cannes qui bordent la rivière. Le sieur Dautray dit que ce n'estoit rien,⁵³ mais le sieur de la Salle ayant encore entendu du bruit cria aux armes, et que c'estoient des sauvages.⁵⁴ Aussytost on entendit des cris de guerre,⁵⁵ et décocher des flèches de fort près. Le sieur de la Salle et ses gens firent grand feu: le combat dura deux heures, et le jour estant venu, les sauvages prirent la fuite, après avoir eu des hommes⁵⁶ tuez et plusieurs blessez, sans que pas un de la troupe du sieur De la Salle fust tué ny blessé.⁵⁷ Ses gens voulurent aller brusler le village de ces perfides; mais comme il vouloit ménager l'esprit de ces sauvages, il s'y opposa sous prétexte qu'ils avoient peu de munitions.⁵⁸

Il partit le mesme jour 16^e d'avril, et arriva le 1^{er} de may au village des Koroa, après avoir beaucoup souffert avec tous ses gens faute de vivres. Les Koroa estoient alliez des Quinipisa, et ils avoient, à dessein de les venger,⁵⁹ ensemblé les sauvages de quatre villages; mais le sieur de la Salle se tint si bien sur ses gardes qu'ils n'osèrent rien entreprendre.⁶⁰ Ainsy il reprit le bled qu'il avoit caché près de là, et il continua sa route. Il fut surpris en cet endroit de voir que le bled d'Inde, qui commençoit seulement à sortir de terre le 29 mars,⁶¹ estoit desjà bon à manger,⁶² et il d'Avril le bled d'Inde estoit en fleur aux Koroas." Membre. aprit ensuite qu'il meurissait en 40 jours.⁶³ Il fut très bien receu par les Taensa et par les Akansa, chez lesquels il arriva le 17^e de may. **IL TOMBA** dangereusement **MALADE** quelques jours après et à cent lieues de la

⁵¹ The text in Tonti's letter reads: "deux Quinipisa vinrent en nostre camp, et André Hunaut, et un loup allerent en leur village, et fumes camper a 5 arpens pres, et y renvoyames les femmes, et le françois, et le loup revinrent." The comparison between the two texts may serve as an illustration of the manner in which Bernou adapted the letter of Tonti.

⁵² Tonti gives the name of the sentry, Colin.

⁵³ "Le S^r d'Autray repondit c'est peut estre des Chiens," Tonti.

⁵⁴ "Ce sont des hommes," Tonti.

⁵⁵ Sasacouest, as before.

⁵⁶ Perhaps "des hommes" is a misprint in Thomassy; Tonti has "dix hommes"; so has the Renaudot copy.

⁵⁷ "Sans que personne de nous eut aucun mal," Tonti.

⁵⁸ Another illustration of Bernou's method is supplied by this passage: "Sur le midy M. de la Salle fut avec moitié de françois, et de loups briser de leurs Canots, ils estoient en embuscade tout proche, mais ils se contentent de fuir en faisant la huée. On tint conseil le soir pour aller le lendemain a leur village, mais le peu de munition qui nous restoit nous fit resoudre a nous en aller le mesme jour 16, en faisant les cris de leurs morts. Les loups leverent deux chevelures sans trouver les autres corps que leurs gens avoient emporté."

⁵⁹ Tonti is more colloquial: "lesquels [Koroa] s'estoient mis en devoir de nous jouer un mauvais tour." "Ensemblé" is a misprint for "assemblé," this is the reading of the Renaudot copy.

⁶⁰ "... et craignant les fusils ils changerent de resolution," Tonti.

⁶¹ "Jour de Pasques," is repeated, cf. *supra*.

⁶² "... fut bon le 1^{er} May a faire du petit bled," Tonti. "A la fin

⁶³ Membre has fifty days; the Renaudot copy also has fifty days.

rivière des Illinois.⁶⁴ Cet accident l'obligea d'envoyer devant le sieur De Tonti pour porter les premières nouvelles de sa découverte,⁶⁵ qu'il escrivit de Missilimakinac au comte de Frontenac le 23 juillet 1682, après avoir sur sa route sauvé la vie à quelques Iroquois poursuivis par trente Tamaroa, Caskia, et Omissoury.⁶⁶

Cependant le sieur De la Salle fut arrêté 40 jours par sa maladie qui le réduisit à l'extrémité; mais, Dieu luy ayant renvoyé la santé, il s'avança à petites journées à cause de sa faiblesse jusqu'à la rivière des Miamis, où il arriva vers le mois de septembre dernier, mais l'approche de l'hyver l'a empêché de descendre à Québec. Il a de cette sorte achevé la plus importante et la plus difficile découverte qui ait jamais esté faite par aucun François sans avoir perdu un seul homme, dans des pays où Jean Ponce de Léon, Pamphile de Narvaez et Ferdinand Soto ont péri sans aucun succès, avec plus de deux mille Espagnols.—Jamais aucun Espagnol n'a fait de pareilles entreprises avec si peu de monde et tant d'ennemis. Mais il n'en a tiré aucune utilité pour luy mesme, ses malheurs et les fréquens obstacles qu'il a trouvez luy ayant fait perdre plus de deux cent mille livres, ainsi qu'il le justifiera par des comptes fidèles, à son retour en France. Il s'estimera néanmoins fort heureux s'il avoit pu faire quelque chose pour la gloire et pour l'avantage de la France, et si ses travaux luy peuvent faire mériter la protection de Monseigneur.

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⁶⁴ Membre gives the distance as being 200 leagues from the Gulf.

⁶⁵ Tonti tells why he was sent ahead: "pour lever ses [La Salle's] caches aux Miamis et venir icy [Michilimackinac] pour acheter des hardes dont ont besoin les gens qui doivent s'establir aux Illinois, ou je commanderay, et les autres aux Miamis."

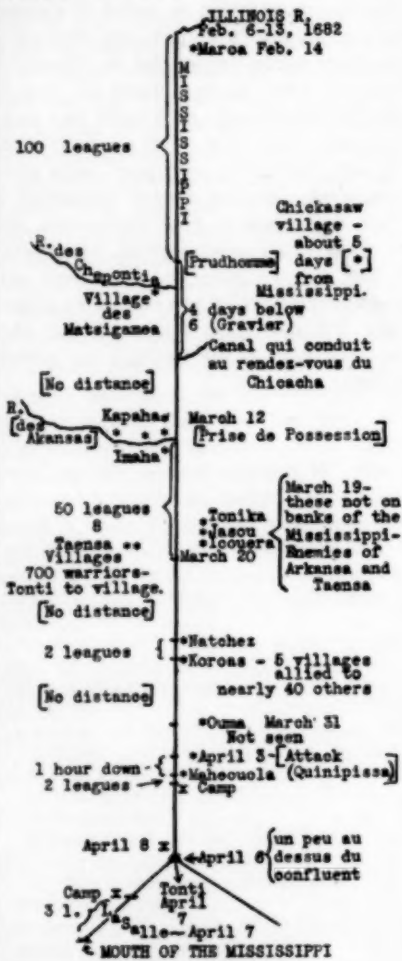
⁶⁶ Tonti narrates this episode in detail at the end of his letter.

DESCRIPTIVE CHARTS OF

CHART 1

From La Métairie - Procès-Verbal

(Margry, II, 186-190)

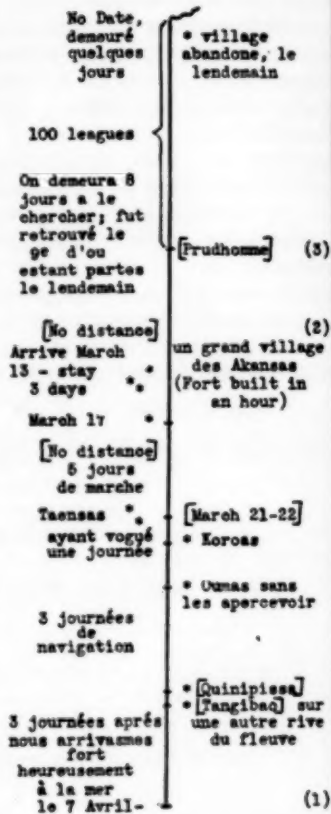


Note: The lines indicating the Mississippi are drawn straight down, because the accounts give no directions, except Tonti's on Chart 3.

CHART 2

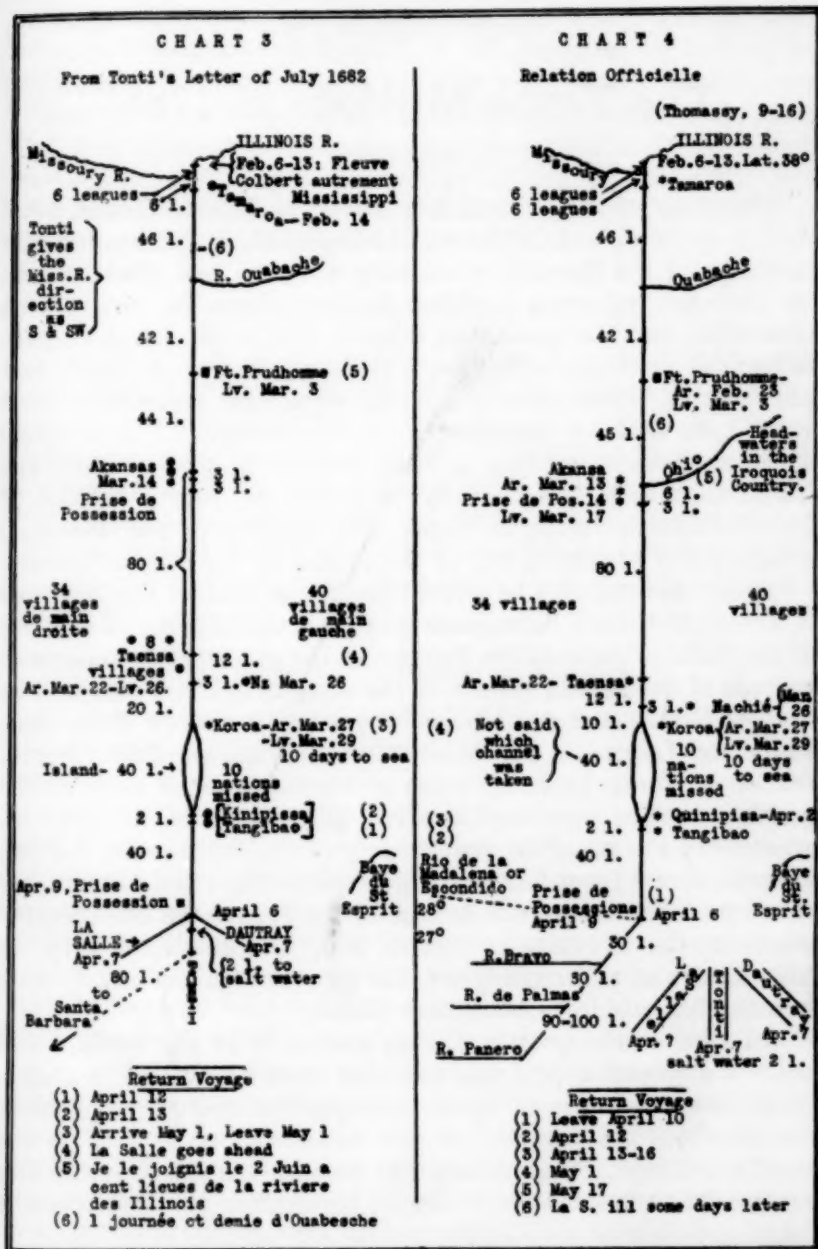
From Membré's Letter

(Margry, II, 206-212)



- (1) April 10 - Date for start of return journey.
- (2) May 17 - going up.
- (3) "Nous nous sommes arretes icy a deux cents lieues de la mer," going up.

THE FOUR ACCOUNTS



J. V. Jacobsen, del.

DOCUMENTS

The Texas Missions in 1785*

INTRODUCTION

The story of the colonial beginnings of Florida, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California is inseparably bound up with the narrative of the Spanish missionary advance into what became our southern and western states. In these places for generations after their establishment, the mission chains played their part as frontier institutions necessary for the progress of empire and Christianity. Then came the time when the missions passed away. Like that for the other lands, the history of the missions of Texas from their rise to their decline is now written. Dr. Carlos Castañeda has recently published the fourth volume of *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, The Passing of the Missions*, bringing the account down to the period of the secularizations.

Many reasons may be offered for the decline of the missions of Texas, and many documents may be brought forth in support of the various contentions. Yet one of the principal documentary sources of the closing decade of the mission era in Texas will be that published below, the report made by Father Fray José Francisco López to the Most Reverend Rafael José Verger, Bishop of Nuevo León, by order of Viceroy José de Gálvez. The graphic account presented by Fray López after his detailed inspection of the missions, particularly of the chain down the San Antonio River from San Antonio, reveals the chief reasons for the physical and economic decline of the Franciscan chain everywhere in the Province of Texas. Over and above its value to historians and anthropologists, the report rings out clearly as a last cry for help for a benighted people.

In view of the great suffering and want of the settlers and natives a special appeal was made on their behalf to His Catholic Majesty, the King of Spain. The types of misery prevalent in the province are revealed in the document, as well as is the trouble caused by the soldiery and raiding Indians. Outstanding among the causes for the decline of the settlements and missions

* Translation made from a photostat copy in the University of Texas, from a certified copy made by the secretary of the Bishop of Monterrey in 1789, now in the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley, California.

was the civil administration of the area, especially in the matter of the transfer of property, which heretofore had been privately owned but was now confiscated by the government, leaving the subjects of the King in sore distress and poverty. Such factors ultimately spelled the doom of missionary activities in Texas. The edict of secularization soon followed. Most of the establishments that had long been consecrated by the apostolic zeal, religious services, and the blood of many martyrs for the cause of Christianity, were closed.

THE TEXAS MISSIONS IN 1785

Report and Account That the Father President of the Missions in the Province of Texas or New Philipppines Sends to the Most Illustrious Señor Fray Rafael José Verger of the Council of His Majesty, the Bishop of the New Kingdom of León, in Accordance with the Royal Order that, on January 31, 1781, Was Issued at El Pardo and Was Sent to His Illustrious Lordship, the Bishop, by the Most Excellent Viceroy Count of Gálvez, on August 4, 1785, filed [for Permanent Record] in the Archives of this Presidency.

MISSION SAN ANTONIO DE VALERO

This mission is situated across the [San Antonio] river from San Antonio de Béxar. It is built to form almost a square, surrounded by a single stone and mud wall that stands about 300 paces from the center. The same rampart serves as a wall for most of the fifteen or sixteen houses, with ample capacity for lodging the Indians. Nearly all the houses are covered with wood and mortar, as a protection against the rain, and have hand-carved, wooden doors with locks and iron keys. Within the square is the granary, made of stone and lime, which has enough room to hold two thousand *fanegas* [4000 bushels] of corn, two hundred or more *fanegas* of beans, etc. Next is the house or living quarters, adequate for the missionary and the officers of the community, made of stone and lime, with good roofs, doors, windows, and locks. Adjoining this building is the sacristy (which serves today as the church), while another room now serves as the sacristy. Both structures are of stone and mortar and are built with arched roofs. This mission has under construction a church with a very large nave, whose walls are built as high as the cornices, but the latter have been built only in the dome of the presbytery. In the front, its beautiful façade

of wrought stone has been completed to the same height as the walls. At this point the construction stopped many years ago for lack of qualified workmen. For this and other reasons that in general will follow, it cannot now be carried on to completion. The lowest evaluation that may be placed upon the church and sacristy is twenty thousand *pesos*, with an additional eight thousand for the furnishings and ornaments. About the funds of this community more will be said in the general discussion to follow. In personnel [*lo formal*] this mission consists of

Married couples, 12, from 20 to 50 years of age.....	24
Widowers and bachelors, from 25 to 40 years of age..	8
Boys, from 1 to 10 years and one girl.....	20
Total number of persons.....	52

This mission was founded with Indians of various nations, such as the Hierbipiames, Pataguas, Scipxames, Xaranames, Samas, Payatas (these last two were the principal ones), Yutas, Kiowas, Tovs, and Tamiques; but all these may be considered as Samas and Payas, whose language is in general use. Spanish is now more commonly used, the Indians having married mulattoes and mestizoes (who are called *Coyotes* in this country). Also it should be noted that although this mission was founded in the year 1716,* most of the Indians in it, and there are more than fifty, are sons of uncivilized natives; and, further, they were baptized as adults when some were as much as forty years of age.

MISSION LA PURÍSIMA CONCEPCION DE ACUNA

This mission is situated on the bank of the River of San Antonio de Béxar, at a distance of one league from the presidio and from the mission already described. It stands on a clearing, protected by the woods along the river. The mission is square in shape and enclosed by a stone and mud wall, low in parts, and provided with three ample openings, one on the east, another on the west, and a third on the south. These have gates of carved wood with good locks. This rampart serves as a wall for houses of the same material. These furnish ample shelter for the Indians. In fact, there are twenty-three rooms, with flat roofs; and although some of them are in a ruinous state, they

* The mission was formally established in 1718 by Father Francisco Buenaventura de Olivares and Captain Martín de Alarcón, Governor of Texas.

are not difficult to restore or repair. In the present year all or nearly all will be rebuilt. On the east side stands the roomy house of the missionaries, and the offices of the community, all made of stone and lime, nearly all provided with arched roofs. This is a one-story building except for one room built above. The sacristy and the church adjoin the main stone and lime structure; they are both very notable for this country because of the two towers and the beautiful cupola. The church and sacristy together are valued at 30,000 *pesos*, and their furnishings and ornaments at three or four thousand. East of the church is a spacious granary about fifteen or twenty *varas* in length, and eight or nine *varas* in width, with walls of stone and lime, and a flat, wooden roof. This building may be valued at not less than one thousand *pesos*. The mission consists of

Married couples, 17, from 25 to 60 years of age.	34
Widowers and one widow, from 30 to 80 years of age.	13
Bachelors, about 20 years of age.	2
Children	22
Total number of persons.	<u>71</u>

Although these people are descendents of the various nations for whom this mission was founded, such as the Paxalotes, or Paxalaches (the corrupt form), Sciquipiles, Sanipaos, Pacaos, Tacames, Borrados, and Manos de Perro, they are now reduced to and generally called Paxalaches. The language of the latter is the one most commonly used; and although nearly all speak Spanish, it is with notable imperfection. It should be noted that most of the Indians were baptized after they were fullgrown and that those over forty years of age are children of uncivilized Indians.

MISSION SAN JOSÉ DE AGUAYO

This mission, like the preceding ones, is situated on the west bank of the San Antonio River, south (downstream) of those already described, at a distance of about one league from Mission Concepción and two from that of San Antonio and the Royal Presidio. Situated on a broad plain, rather sparsely wooded, its grounds and buildings, surrounded by a rampart of stone-and-mud houses, offer an attractive sight. All the houses have hand-carved wooden doors, some with good locks. The rampart has four gates, each suitable for its purpose and directly facing one point of the compass. All have good strong locks. In

addition to these main entrances there are two other smaller ones at places where they were deemed necessary on account of the growth of the pueblo, which from end to end may be said to be about 200 *varas*. These houses are built next to each other and have ample room, with a kitchen for each family. They are sufficiently protected against rain, wind, and other inclemencies of the weather. On the west corner along the wall, separated from the habitations of the Indians by a street, stand the missionary's house, the church, and the sacristy. The first contains not only rooms for housing the missionaries, but also a kitchen, and the offices of the community. It is all of stone and lime and flat-roofed; the quarters for the missionary form a second story, and every part is in good taste. The church, with the sacristy, is contiguous to the other house so that through the latter one may enter a comparatively good pulpit in the presbytery. The church and the sacristy, because of their architecture, are the most beautiful structures to be seen anywhere this side of Saltillo. They may be valued without hesitation at 30,000 *pesos*, and their furnishings at eight or ten thousand. The numerous ornaments, some of them of silver, include a frontal, a throne, and a baldaquin. It is evident that the lack of other ornaments is due to the notable decline suffered by the mission as a result of influences which will be explained and discussed in the general report. The same happened to the other missions already referred to, and, in fact, to all of them, as will be seen when their funds are discussed. The mission consists of

Christians

Married couples, 24, from 18 to 60 years of age.	48
Widowers and widows, from 40 to 80 years of age. .	11
Bachelors, between 15 and 20 years of age.	9
Children, from 1 to 10 years of age.	38

Gentiles

Barrados, from 6 to 50 years of age.	32
(Five of these have been baptized in <i>articulo mortis</i> .)	

Total number of persons.	<u>138</u>
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With the exception of the Gentile Barrados who came last year (1784) from the coast, the personnel is made up of the Pampopas and Postitos; and their language is the usual one in this mission, although most of them speak Spanish less incorrectly than in the other missions. Finally, this mission has al-

ways been the most populous in spite of having been the most affected by the plague of buboes; and furthermore it has been the richest, because the Indians are less indolent in the cultivation of the fields and the care of the herds.

MISSION SAN JUAN DE CAPISTRANO

This mission is situated about one and a quarter or one and a half leagues from San José, two leagues from Concepción, and three or little more from San Antonio and the Royal Presidio de Béxar. It stands on the banks of the San Antonio River, in a small valley [*vega*], covered everywhere by woods. It is square in shape, with a wall like the others and with three entrances, one somewhat larger than the others. Adjoining this wall are the houses or Indians' lodgings, for the most part of the usual materials. Near one corner of the wall is a large house, with sufficient space for the missionary and with rooms for the usual offices. Joined to this house is the granary, also of ample space, and of a similar construction. Near the house, but not joining it, is the church and sacristy now in use. The structure is valued at fifteen hundred pesos and its furnishings and ornaments at that same amount or more. Another was being built, but it was left about half-finished; up to that time about 3,000 pesos had been spent, not counting the work of the Indians. The reason for stopping work was the same as in the case of San Antonio, that is, the lack of Indians. In addition, and more important perhaps, is the penury into which this mission has fallen, the reason for which will be explained in the general discussion of the condition of all the missions. The mission consists of

Married couples, 21, from 18 to 60 years of age.....	42
Widowers and widows, from 20 to 70 years of age....	5
Bachelors and children, from 1 to 20 years of age....	11
Total number of persons.....	<hr/> 58

These people, for the most part, are descended from the nations of the Pamaques, Orejones, and Marahuiayos; and they usually speak their own languages. They are children of recently converted and baptized adult Indians and are known as Marahuitos, the name given to all members of this mission.

MISSION SAN FRANCISCO DE LA ESPADA

The site of this mission is on the west bank of the river, one half league from that of San Juan de Capistrano, one and a half

leagues from San José, two and a half from Concepción. It lies between three and a fourth and four leagues down the river from San Antonio and the Royal Presidio, on a plain that is on the watershed, and is thickly covered with woods. The mission is square in shape and is surrounded by a stone and mud wall. Contiguous to these walls are the houses, mostly of stone and mud, where the Indians live. The missionary's house, the church, and the sacristy, which adjoin each other, take up half of the west side. They are of stone and lime and have sufficient room for all purposes. The church and sacristy, on account of their superior construction and their ornaments and furnishings, are valued at three or four thousand *pesos*. On the south side stands the granary, which is of stone and mud, but which has enough room to meet its requirements. This mission, like the others, was very populous; but, for the reasons that will be noted in the general discussion, its population has fallen very much, as will be shown by the list of the persons now living in it:

Married couples, 14, from 40 to 80 years of age.....	28
Widowers and widows, from 40 to 80 years of age....	13
Bachelors and children, from 1 to 15 years of age....	16
Total number of persons.....	57

These are descendents of the Pacao nation (which was fairly numerous when the mission was founded for its benefit, their language being the one most commonly used) and the Barrados Marahuitos. Many of the latter were brought from the south coast, to which some returned and died, while others of this nation died in the mission during the small epidemic in the recent year of 1780. No small number have died and are dying of buboes.

MISSION EL ESPÍRITU SANTO DE LA BAHÍA

This mission is forty leagues downstream from the others, and is very near the southern seacoast. It is situated on an elevated spot accessible to the edge of the river, which runs between it and the Royal Presidio, usually called *La Bahía*. The mission, rectangular in shape, is completely surrounded by the corresponding wall. Next to this are the houses of the Indians, some of which, as in the other missions, have flat and others hay or grass roofs. The office and quarters of the missionary are in a house adjoining the church and sacristy. All are of stone and lime, have wooden roofs, and offer more than ample

room. These, with their furnishings and ornaments, may be valued at twelve thousand *pesos*. The mission consists of

Married couples, 31, from 20 to 60 years of age.....	62
Widowers and widows, from 30 to 80 years of age...	15
Bachelors and children, from 1 to 20 years of age...	39
Total number of persons.....	116

Nearly as many natives have fled to the coast and woods, both from among those who were brought from there, and from those who, born in the mission, were induced by the bad example of the coastal Indians, to follow them. Neither the clamor nor the supplications of the missionaries have been successful in obtaining repressive measures from the Governor of the Province to put a stop to the almost daily escapes (even when these occur in his presence). Consequently, unless it be by the Grace of Heaven, that is, unless a remedy is found in the form of a particular or special intercession of Providence, this mission and all the others will be depopulated, abandoned, and destroyed within a few years. As a result of the pressing need felt for the labor necessary to support the missions, they are experiencing great scarcity, while the renegades, like fierce brutes, scare and seduce the other civilized Indians, who may be inclined to listen to the Evangelical Word. To this situation it must be added that since for this reason the wealth of these missions is diminishing, it is easy to understand the lack of ability to effect new conversions or to support those who are converted or may be converted. NOTE: Here it is necessary to state that the only wealth that this mission has enjoyed since its erection has been that derived from the herds of cattle (for on account of the bad weather and drought and the impossibility of irrigating, there has been no assistance furnished by agriculture as in the other missions). With only this wealth the mission was able to sustain and even grow and perpetuate itself without difficulty; even having had to buy grain for its consumption, it still had enough income for its members to dress more decently than is common among Indians, though they were more numerous than they are today; nor were the means lacking to spend considerable sums annually on public worship, as is evidenced by the value of the church, its furnishings, and its ornaments, none of which are very old; for on account of the strong south winds from the salt marshes, an almost constant replacement is necessary for the images and other ornaments.

In order that we may more easily understand what that property has been, it seems opportune to explain it more thoroughly. Thus it should be noted that twelve years ago this mission had branded more than fifteen thousand head of cattle, counted at the door of the corral, while many remained in the woods and were not included. And of those unbranded there was an incomparably greater number. Today not three thousand branded head could be gathered; and these, added to the unbranded ones, will not amount to the number that twelve years ago were in the branded group alone. All this has resulted from the visit to this province made by the Commander General in the year 1778. Returning to his headquarters without being sufficiently well-informed, he declared that all wild or unbranded cattle within his jurisdiction belonged to the royal treasury, without need of citing the parties interested or allowing representations or claims that might obviate the effect of his declaration, thus exceeding not only the bounds prescribed by the laws of this kingdom but also those prescribed by the laws of Castile and even universally recognized rights. He ordered no other formality to be observed in carrying out the new policy than the publication of his decree, which was to be obeyed to the letter. Thus he opened a wide door to numberless irregularities. In this way the supply of branded and unbranded cattle has diminished to the state already mentioned. It is not easy to ascertain who has eaten or killed off the most. It may be the Apache Indians who, on a moderate estimate, account for at least twenty head a day. It may be the Spanish hunters [*carneadores*] who, on each expedition, kill more than a hundred head, and sometimes two hundred, the expeditions being undertaken weekly and sometimes more often. In the third place it may be the purveyors for the presidio, who, from month to month, do not fail to bring to the presidio more than a hundred and fifty beeves. Fourth, it may be the soldiers in charge of the horses [*citiado de cavallada*], who are not satisfied with two beeves a day for twenty men, but on occasions kill four, and as a result most of the meat spoils or is thrown away because it cannot be carried from place to place as the herd wanders. Fifth, it may be the troops of the presidio, who, when they go out to reconnoiter, that is, to explore the land, or when they go out to bring grass for fodder for the animals, generally three or four of the party, or as many as are able lead a yearling apiece from their saddles. Usually they catch the offspring of the branded cows, and only seldom do they bring in that of unbranded ones. This

they do every afternoon when they are able, and they hardly ever fail. Lastly, it may be those who have taken away whole herds during the last eight years, totaling more than fifteen thousand head, most of them cows. Whether the said Decree [*Providencia*] is the primary cause of the orders of subaltern officers cannot be determined with certainty. But this can be determined if these orders are compared with the old and very just and prudent regulations [*Providencias*] of the most excellent viceroys to prevent the serious injustices which even they foresaw would befall the property and wealth of the Indians and to conserve them in their reduction. To this end it seemed convenient to their Excellencies to impose upon the chiefs of this presidio and the justices of this jurisdiction a fine of 1,500 pesos even for a minor case of transgression; for they knew that although the violation might seem mild or harmless, still in its effects it would be serious. What would not their Excellencies do to prevent the grave transgressions against the provisions of royal, ecclesiastical, and divine law as a means of preserving common justice in this kingdom, particularly among the neophytes, whose will is so weak and inconsistent? What would they not do in order to prevent those judicial acts that are so ordered as to break down and destroy the spiritual worth [*edificio espiritual*] of these conversions? But *O tempora! O mores!* That was long ago, when the Assessors, General Military Auditors, and His Majesty's Chancellors enacted such rulings; but in the judgment of present-day officers, they little understood the spirit of the law and looked out less carefully for the increase and conservation of the royal treasury. But today, when all these things are better understood, the disregard of the former regulations is considered better than the conservation and propagation of the missions [*conversiones*]. But in order to maintain them, [the new regulations], the royal revenue will suffer a loss (becoming nothing, even as it is today) because of the expense entailed in the collection of what is called *wild cattle* by the missionaries.

Since the first decree there have been issued many voluminous regulations with severe penalties for branding wild cattle, even those that can be logically proved the offspring of branded mothers and are found together with them in the pastures or private ranches. In accord with the principle enunciated, most of the cattle are unbranded and generally attract the smaller herds. An ultimate consequence is that all the cattle are now wild. They belong to the royal treasury, and they are at the

disposal of the Governor and the Justice of His Majesty in this Province. And what is more important, there is an urgent need for the quota of cattle that, with the Chief's permission, the missions are accustomed to take for their daily sustenance from the unmarked herds. This is done, even though it entails the selling of the grain, gathered with much labor, that is needed for the support of the missions; the Indians with their missionaries have been in need of it for some time, because there remain no other satisfactory means of satisfying their requirements. And although this situation is common to all the missions, it is placed here because this mission is the one most badly in need of this note.

NEW SETTLEMENT AT NACOGDOCHES

By order of His Excellency the Viceroy there have been at this settlement two missionaries since the year 1775, principally for the purpose of bringing about the reduction of the Orcoquisac, Vidai, Texas, and the other tribes of that region. Its distance from here [San Antonio de Valero] is about two hundred leagues; the intervening land is entirely unpopulated but very suitable for being settled because of its natural beauty and rich resources, and its many promising sites or places that, if they were colonized, would be very profitable to the Crown and to the Kingdom. This would also be the most expeditious means of achieving the civilization of many tribes and peoples, who, influenced by the proximity of the settlements, or attracted by reasonable and polite dealings with the Spaniards, might without much difficulty, abandon their wild habits, become inclined to a more sociable life, and accept the catechism and Christian instruction. In addition to this primary purpose the two missionaries are there to administer spiritually to the settlers without charging them fees or parish dues of any kind, or making any sort of collection, even for things that may appear most just, such as the expense for the maintenance of a sacristan, etc.

THE SUPPRESSED MISSION OF NUESTRA SENORA DEL SANTÍSIMO ROSARIO

The Indians of this mission have fled to the coast on the persuasion of a peevish and very perverse Indian. Since the latter happened to be more like a Spaniard, that is, he spoke the Spanish tongue better, he managed to insinuate his way into the flexible, indiscrete, and corruptible minds of the Indians and stir them up until they ran away. This is a matter worthy of men-

tion, of being kept in mind and made known in order that proper measures be taken in due time, in the other missions. Such culprits as this Indian are generally the worst element, being responsible for the corruption and loss of the Indians in missions and pueblos, and also being the cause of the depopulation of some and complete destruction of others. This Indian of Rosario Mission, continuing there in his obstinacy, has committed execrable evils, and is the reason that many fugitives from other missions have never returned. In Rosario remained only women who, as a safeguard against the dangers of that vicinity, were transferred to the mission of San Juan Capistrano, where most of them have died. One after another they have followed their kin. Thus the mission, which from its very beginnings flourished and thrived, has been destroyed. It was situated one league from the mission and presidio at La Bahía. Its ornaments, especially the church furnishings, have been transferred to La Bahía, where they are kept in safety. Some of these ornaments were destroyed when the house fell in ruins. Its funds or wealth consisted mainly of cattle and horses, the branded number of which exceeded ten thousand head. Of these the Apaches, Lipans, and coastal tribes have left not even a sign.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OR SUMMARY OF WHAT HAS BEEN SAID
CONCERNING EACH OF THE MISSIONS

These missions, as stated in the title of this report, are in the Province of Texas, which belongs in its secular aspects to the Command [*Comandancia*] of the Internal Provinces of New Spain, and in its ecclesiastical affairs to the Bishopric of Nuevo León. The missions consist of towns protected by walls, with houses for inhabitants, each house roofed with timber and mud, and provided with a good floor. Some, according to the facilities of each mission, have façades of carved wood, and iron locks in the houses as well as in the ramparts. In this protective wall there are three or four doors for varying purposes and on different sides. In the center and at the most advantageous place in these missions are the houses for the missionaries, with sufficient room for living quarters and the other needs. Adjoining this house, or not far away from it, is the church and sacristy as described in the individual reports.

These missions were never under the care of the Reverend Fathers of the suppressed Company of Jesus. They were founded, organized, and developed by the Apostolic Missionaries of the Order of Saint Francis, who have kept and tended them,

as sons of the College of the Holy Cross of Querétaro and of Our Lady of Guadalupe of Zacatecas, in the seven pueblos as already described. These are San Antonio de Valero, La Purísima Concepción de Acuña, San José de Aguayo, San Juan de Capistrano, Nuestro Padre San Francisco de la Espada (which are in an area of three or four leagues along the banks of the San Antonio River), El Espíritu Santo de La Bahía, and Nuestra Señora del Rosario, which, as already stated, is abandoned and in ruins today as a result of the flight of its Indians to the coast from where they were brought. These missions in the beginning were founded for and organized with Indians of the most diversified nations, such as the Paxalotes, Orejones, Pacaos, Pocoas, Filiyoyos, Aloxapas, Pausanes, Pacuaches, Mezcales, Pompopas, Tacames, Chayapines, Benados, Parnaques, Sciquipiles, Barrados, Manos de Perro, and others. But nearly all these very different nations have been reduced to one language, which is common or uniform in meaning and differs only in the greater or less stress or speed with which some Indians, called Bozales, because they use and understand very little Spanish, are being instructed. In spite of what has been said, Spanish is generally and commonly spoken among both Spaniards and Indians, although, in the case of the latter, with noticeable imperfection or (in the common expressions) with stones in their mouths.

As already stated, these missions were organized and founded by the Apostolic Franciscan Missionaries, some by the sons of the Apostolic College of la Santísima Cruz de Querétaro, and others by those of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas. Today the latter have charge of the administration of all the missions. In them there are employed nine missionaries as follows: six resident, one in each mission, one supernumerary who substitutes for the sick or unavoidably absent, and two in the new settlement of Nacogdoches, as mentioned in the discussion of that establishment. These missionaries are assigned to their places by the prelate of their college, in conformity with the provisions of the Apostolic Bulls for the Seminaries of *Propaganda Fide*, issued, approved, and passed on by the Apostolic See and the Royal Council of the Indies. The precision and punctuality with which these missionaries discharge the duties of their ministry may be inferred by remembering that they are continually under the supervision of a Father President, who with the authority of a legitimate prelate granted and delegated to him by the Reverend Guardian of his College, resides in the locality of the missions. He is elected from among those who

enjoy the best reputation for virtue, prudence, and learning in the College and is, whenever possible, the senior. And from time to time when it is deemed necessary and opportune, the College designates by a unanimous vote of its Senior Council a serious-minded missionary as an Inspector. He is always the best-prepared in general background for the achieving of his mission. He makes a very careful examination of every phase of life pertinent to the missions and missionaries; but especially he inquires if they comply well with the duties of the ministry to which they have been assigned and if they manage the property of the Indians with the greatest personal disinterestedness, legality, and exactness. Likewise he examines whether the missionaries properly look after the needs of their indigent constituents. They remove at once those who have fallen into serious fault, acting in this matter with more asperity than leniency. Page by page he inspects the records of income and expenses, in which very punctilious note is made of each item. As soon as these missionaries reach their respective assignments, they make the most diligent attempt to learn, through use and daily intercourse, the language of their charges. This is the only means they have for communication, although usually the missionaries insist that the Indians understand and use Spanish, as is ordered by the laws of the kingdom. This order is complied with by speaking often with the adults and by teaching the children usually or always to read, and, if it is deemed practical (which is not always the case) to write and figure. The piety of our Lord the King (May God keep Him) has appropriated for the missionaries the prebend or annual *sínodo* of 450 pesos. This amount is paid from His royal treasury and is drawn by the Apostolic Treasurer, acting as representative of the missionaries, with certificates from the royal judges of the region and by order of the Commandant of these Interior Provinces. Neither now nor ever have the missionaries demanded or received any compensation or fees, large or small, from either the Indians or the Spaniards. On the contrary they added the prebend to the products from the missions, limiting themselves to a most meager allowance, and leaving the balance for the Church expenses and the Divine Cult. In these churches and towns there are no confraternities or brotherhoods, for there is barely time for more than the teaching of the Faith and the administration of baptism.

In temporal matters these missions are governed and administered in the style and fashion of a family, by a common father

who, being the spiritual head, also looks after their interests and wants with as much careful exactness and punctuality as the best father could do (because their Excellencies the Viceroyes, who thought it best, provided that it should be done in that way). Nevertheless, an effort is made to instruct the Indians in civil and political life; and in accord with that purpose and the laws of the kingdom, the custom of electing annually two justices, who are called *governor* and *alcalde*, has been introduced. This is done in the presence of the missionary, and thus there have been Indian governors in the towns. If the pueblos are lacking in men, married couples vote. The voting is done by secret ballot; and those who are elected by a plurality vote have their names submitted to the governor of the Province, who confirms them by a written order [*auto inscriptis*]. During that year these men govern the town according to the established customs of most of the towns in the Province, under the direction and with the advice of the missionary.

The wealth of these missions is derived from the cultivation of corn, beans, chile or pimentos, and fruits like watermelons, cantaloups, pumpkins, and garden produce, as well as from the breeding of sheep, goats, and cattle. Concerning the latter there is something that needs to be said here.

Note: Sheep increase very slowly in this country for many reasons, but especially because the land, being thickly wooded, abounds in wild animals that destroy them. Also many are lost in the brush; and when we add to these reasons first, the indolence of the Indian shepherds and the misfortune of not having reliable herders, and second, the fact that these herds cause some Indians to run away lest greater carefulness be demanded of them, it is plainly impossible, generally speaking, to increase the flocks or even do more than keep them as large as they are. The herds of cattle increase rapidly, and they constitute the principal wealth. All the missions had considerable property of this kind. With these herds they maintained themselves without enduring many hardships or privations; and could they but be restored, the missions would regain their former prosperity. But the Commandant General added to the royal treasury (as mentioned in the note in the description of the Mission of El Espíritu Santo de la Bahía) all the unbranded cattle, which included nearly all of them. The cruel hostility of the Comanches, who at every opportunity killed many persons in the vicinity of the presidio and the missions, and also the numerous and impenetrable forests, where even the gentlest sheep might become so en-

tangled that only with the greatest difficulty could it be extricated, have contributed to the destruction of these herds. Moreover, the herders often ran into ambushes of the Comanches, from which they rarely escaped. Finally, these enemies left the missions without a brood of horses, tame or untamed, with the result that nearly all the herds were unbranded. But the Commandant, disregarding these reasons and many others equally serious, adjudged and declared in his proclamation (although I doubt its wisdom) all the unbranded cattle roaming in the royal domain the property of the royal treasury. But the king's minister did not consider that, in the event of judging them ownerless, he was supposed to safeguard them, to give public notice of the act, to hear the allegations of interested parties, to establish the case by law [*calificar derechos*], etc.; much less did he consider the grave and very prejudicial results that may be feared from such action. As a result these unfortunate missions have been reduced to such penury and want that even in order for them to eat what is unquestionably theirs, that is, the cattle born of their own branded herds and in their pastures or ranches (I call the pastures or ranches theirs whether they were assigned by the regional judge or were possessed in good faith), it is necessary for them to pay like any stranger the stipulated fee of four *reales* per head. And whereas in the past the income from the herds and missionaries' allowance alone was enough to clothe the Indians and pay the expenses of the Divine Cult, now without them [the herds], there is not enough for either. As a result of the policy adopted, these wretches are made to suffer and endure great sorrow, while they observe that the Apaches are allowed, through cunning dissimulation and the Spaniards' tolerance, to cause excessive damages to their cattle, and that the soldiers and citizens are permitted to slaughter them. Both the Apaches and soldiers drive off substantial herds, mostly cows, to distant regions. Therefore it seems that these poor neophytes, in imitation of the Prophet Jeremiah, might raise their voices, bewailing their fate as he does in the fifth chapter of his sorrowful lamentations, and, taking the words from his mouth, so that the anguish of their hearts may reach the ears of their beloved king, say: "Remember O Lord, what is come upon us. Consider and behold our reproach. Our inheritance is turned to aliens; our houses to strangers."*

They are ignorant of our law and faith, who have driven it

* Lamentations of Jeremias: Prayer of the Prophet, Chapter 5, verses 1-2.

[our wealth] away in large and countless herds taken from our lands and ranches even by newcomers, such as the Apaches, who have destroyed greater numbers still, but who, in the guise of friendship, also carry on the most cruel, continuous, and wasting war against us, depriving us of human sustenance by the frightful destruction of our herds. Seeing these enemies masquerading under pretense, we are at a loss to understand what your royal will may be in retaining these presidial troops for our protection and support at such excessive cost. Not only is the enemy not punished, repressed, and taught a lesson, as in the past, but we behold, O Sorrow! these very troops so poorly governed that they turn in large part against us; and, leaving immune the former enemies, they even add to the damages caused by them [the Apaches], killing and destroying our cattle in one endless slaughter. While pretending to protect us, these troops serve only to inflict terrible punishment and reprisals upon us on the least provocation occasioned by our branding our own unbranded cattle or our eating them. As a result it is very possible that there might be imprinted upon our humble minds an impression very distinct from our former conception that in Your Majesty we have not so much a king and master who dominates us, as a very loving father who favors, protects, and defends us. We see many manifestations of your royal and benign protection in the law, particularly when it is stipulated that the royal interests are to be subordinated to ours. But we bemoan ourselves as orphans bereft of such a good father, if the common reasoning founded on such simple tests of your royal will and desires do not satisfy us, that these ministers work against your good intentions, when they tell us that what was plainly ours is not ours. They assign our property to your royal treasury which, no doubt, will profit as much as heretofore; but although the Bureau of Herds [*Ramo de Mesteño*] of this province should have produced over 25,000 pesos, we hear that there are hardly six or seven thousand in the treasury controlled by the judge of this territory. It is not known that a single *real* has been taken out to be sent to your treasury. Moreover, we do actually consider ourselves orphans because, while we know that our good father lives, protects, and assists us in every way that is within his command, still, on account of the distance and other hindrances, we see that neither our pleadings nor those of the ones who, like pious mothers under the protection of Your Majesty, assist, care for, and look after our needs, reach your pious ears, and this causes our hope for a remedy to waver. Finally, for these rea-

sons we and our children see ourselves turned out to perish from hunger and even to desert the law and the faith in order to seek in the woods the sustenance of which we are deprived. Thus, unquestionably, these unfortunates, crying out in their hunger, want, and nakedness, realize that their king and lord desires to know the resources which these pueblos enjoy and on what they rely for their subsistence.

With respect to the good order and style in which these missions were founded and have been maintained, in agreement with both human and divine laws, pagan customs are found to be almost completely exterminated. The evil habits that remain are only those that seem to have been inherent. Among these is the slightness of their inclination to do the work necessary for raising corn. In some missions and in some years (like the present one) there is a shortage sometimes, because of the combination of this disinclination and the Indians' susceptibility to the contagion of buboes or *Nanaguates*, a kind of leprous venereal disease (which has become common in the country). Some are excused from work on account of this ailment, and others pretend to have it in order not to have to work. Since there are so many to feed and be clothed, and so few to work, two grave problems arise in acquiring the necessary means: first, the absolute necessities are lacking; second, those who work are so burdened that many try to escape and some succeed in running away permanently to join the *gentiles*, whose life and customs they soon copy. These troubles are inevitable for anyone who administers the practical affairs of the town, for he can neither force a sick man to work nor be sure that those who use that pretext are really ill. He cannot exempt the healthy men from work nor fail to care for the sick. It seems that the only remedy for this situation is that one of the towns near the presidio should be designated as a common sick-ward, and to it each of the other missions should contribute, in proportion to its means, the necessary provisions for the sick. In this way, it seems, that these inconveniences may be remedied, for the sick would be cured, the fakers recognized, and the healthy relieved of much of their labor. It is to be understood that such a plan must meet the approval of both royal and ecclesiastical officers.

Concerning the products of the country, something was said in the discussion of the wealth of the missions. Here it need only be noted that wheat is not sown, although it does well, because the Indians hold it in very low regard in comparison with corn, which is the daily bread of this land, as well as because its

cultivation would interfere with that of the latter, which is here considered absolutely necessary for human life. Although there are some wild berries that the Indians eat readily, they are not as abundant or as appetizing as the bananas, guanavas, *cherimolas*, *otes*, *chicos*, *mameys*, cocoanuts, Brazilian nuts, and other fruits that grow on some coasts or along the sea shore. Nevertheless, there is cultivation of vegetables, fruits, etc., which would give a good, large yield if the weather were not so changeable and if there were fewer of the locusts, grasshoppers, ants, beetles, plant lice, etc., that abound here. All the planting done in these missions, as well as the cultivation and distribution of the crops, is by communal labor. Those, however, who are considered most apt are assigned plots of land to cultivate with delicacies, such as vegetables, watermelons, cantaloups, and cucumbers. But here, just as in the case of the corn and beans that are gathered, no scruples are spared to divide them equally among all, even though, to do this, it is necessary to act with thorough forethought and prudence. Although the Indians in every other way are very limited in comprehension and lacking in reasoning ability, in the matter of concealing idleness or laziness by unostentatious excuses and the appearance of pious sanctity, which they do with consummate hypocrisy, they are very skillful. Thus they avail themselves of the assignment to the gardens or private work, only to slip away from the task and very shamelessly profit from the toil of the others, regardless of whether the latter be their fathers, sons, or brothers.

The tools for this work are provided as follows: Those of iron are acquired through the missionaries from the Apostolic Treasury [*sínodo apostólico*], and those of wood or other material either are made by the Indians who know how to fashion them or by some Spaniard who gets paid for his work. The farms are enclosed within strong, wooden fences that are repaired annually. In all of this work the missionaries, like fathers of a family, or tutors, or instructors of the Indians, determine everything that has to be done, even down to the very smallest details, such as adding to the fence rails that are needed, cleaning the fields by removing the stalks of the previous year, or the roots that sprout, digging, cleaning, or deepening the ditches and irrigation canals, etc.

The accounts of incomes and expenses are carried in a special book in each mission and are reported very punctually and clearly to the Father President, as well as to the Inspector when one comes around. The latter carries a very exact report to the

College, where it is examined by the whole venerable council in order to avoid the censure that might otherwise fall upon the missionaries later on.

The present state of these missions, and also that for the last twelve or fifteen years, may well be compared in personnel and property with that of the Kingdom of the Indies [New Spain] during the fifties and sixties—particularly as regards the Interior Provinces. At that time there flourished several rich mines; the farms were all rich estates; and, with the exception of one or two years when they suffered setbacks, they were very fertile and abundant, whereas in these years all is poverty and want. Most of the mines have been depopulated on account of their extreme destitution, and those that persist do so in the face of indescribable hardships and work. Many of the most prosperous ranches have become wildernesses, deserted by man and beast. In short, decay and dissolution continue. Here, too, a comparison can be drawn to the trials of Job, who possessed great wealth and was reduced to imponderable misery—once a prince in Idumea and later covered with filth in a stable. For the Indians scarcely have enough to eat and wear, while previously they had enough to adorn their temples and lived in relative comfort.

Likewise these missions suffer a great decrease in personnel, for there are less than half as many individuals as there were in the past. The principal reasons may be reduced to the following: many have died on account of the plague of buboes or *Nanaguates*, as has already been mentioned, and many others from smallpox. Moreover (nor is this less important than the other), in reclaiming the fugitives and preventing the escape of others, though using the most prudent and suitable methods possible, there has been the very greatest negligence on the part of the heads of the province. Therefore (as was said in speaking of the Indians of El Espíritu Santo) many fled from the other missions, impelled by their inclination to the wild, lazy life of the woods. Now many others have joined them. But here lies a great change. In the past the apostolic missionaries went out to the heathen, converted them by means of their enthusiasm and preaching, and brought them to the missions; then they taught them the catechism and instructed them in the mysteries of the Faith. Later, if they wished to be baptised, and stay in the mission, they were added to that group. This is no longer done, because that avenue has been closed by lack of coöperation from the heads of the province in not furnishing the neces-

sary escorts. Moreover, not only through the lack of coöperation but much more because of their actions the missions have suffered, as, for example, in the sequestration of the cattle already mentioned, a loss that has reduced them to great poverty and need. It has already been said that they do not have even enough to support the few remaining Indians. How, then, could we maintain a greater number of newly converted Indians who learn the faith through the mouth rather than through their ears, and are moved more by gifts than by the strongest and clearest reasoning? This the heads of the province should have kept in mind and given much thought to before adopting the resolution of applying to the royal treasury that which, in all justice, belonged to the missions. By going beyond the limits of the laws concerning pastures and cattle, they unquestionably acted against the royal will and intention, which looks primarily to, and orders by just regulations, the conservation and conversion of the Indians into the ranks of the Holy Church. This has been frustrated by political maxims and ill-advised practices.

The desire of Your Excellency has been complied with, pursuant to the royal order already cited. Much that was worthy of Your high understanding, and which might have moved the piety of your lordship to protect and aid the cause of these poor Indians as the father of orphans and miserable wretches, has been omitted. (Canon Law and the doctors of the Church cited by the learned Señor Solórzano, *Política Indiana*, 4, C, 7, f. 284. 1 col. declare Your Lordship to be the father of these orphans). Through your intercession the pleadings of these unfortunates might have reached the monarch, who desires to know the past and present condition of the Indians and their interests. Written in this mission of San Antonio de Valero, May 5, 1789. Fray José Franco López.

This document agrees with the original; it was prepared in the Archives of this Episcopal Secretariat, under my charge, and for its consistent faithfulness I sign in this city of Monterrey on the 28th day of November, 1789. Don José Sánchez de Luque.

Translation by,

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Notes and Comment

LA SALLE'S FIANCEE: A POST-SCRIPT

Last year the October number of MID-AMERICA carried an article, "Mlle. de Roybon d'Allonne: La Salle's Fiancée?" On page 299 reference was made to M. Claude de Bonnault. It was said that in an article published in the *Larousse mensuel*, he had identified Mlle. de Roybon. Notified that his findings were to be exploited by the author of the article in MID-AMERICA, he assembled a sheaf of notes which he sent to Chicago. Owing to the war, they did not reach their destination in time to be utilized; they arrived as the article came off the press.

Some of these notes deal with the ascendants of Mlle. de Roybon, with her father, Jacques de Roybon, (Bibliothèque Nationale, Pièces originales, volume 2584, dossier 57461, *Roybon*), with her great grandfather, her grandfather and her father (Bibliothèque d'Orléans, Manuscrit 612, fol. 251). In the latter genealogy, the entry about Miss de Roybon's father reads: "Jacques de Roybon II, escuier, sieur d'Allonne, gendarme de la compagnie du Roy, et gentilhomme servant de Sa Majesté, espousa demoiselle Elisabeth Baillif par contract du 15 novembre 1631 . . . Est compris au roole des nobles de l'année 1641. Il en eut . . ." The entry stops after these words, as the genealogist was about to enumerate the children of Jacques de Roybon. The authority for asserting that Miss de Roybon's father held the position of carver at the court of Louis XIII is found in a published list giving the name of those who composed the household of the king (E. Griselle, *Etat de la maison du Roi Louis XIII* . . ., Paris 1912, 24 and 140). He held the same post under Louis XIV, his salary being 700 livres (BN, Mss. fr., 23058:23v.).

The Roybon family, wrote M. de Bonnault in the letter which accompanied these extracts, moved into the Gâtinais at a rather late date. The name has a Dauphiné flavor, and the Roybons of Montargis may well be related to the Roybons of Tullins; these in turn are allied to the Saint-Ours family. Now the mother of Etienne de Saint-Ours, the grandfather of Pierre de Saint-Ours, the Carignan regiment captain who settled in Canada, was a Roybon. In the supposition that the two Roybon families, namely, of Montargis and of Tullins, were related, and the latter allied to the Saint-Ours, the statement of Parkman that the person whom La Salle intended to marry was "a damsel of good connections in the colony" would be verified; because, during the Ancien Régime, a two century old relationship was still taken into account, and Madeleine de Roybon could truthfully have claimed that she belonged to the best families in the colony. Thus,

reasoned M. de Bonnault, "she may have been La Salle's fiancée." As was said in the discussion of this passage of Parkman, the "letter of La Salle in the possession of M. Margry" was not seen by the historian. Margry did not publish any letter in which appears either the name of Miss de Roybon or of that of any damsel of good connections in the colony whom La Salle intended to marry. This must first be established and then the fundamental hypothesis of M. de Bonnault should be tested on positive evidence, i. e., the actual relationship of the Roybon who married a Saint-Ours with the family of Madeleine de Roybon.

Besides transcripts from genealogical documents, M. de Bonnault also sent passages from the French official archives which the writer of the article in MID-AMERICA had overlooked (BN, Clairambault, 1016:485v, copy of a letter of Riverin to Villermont, in which the sender speaks of Dongan redeeming Miss de Roybon from the Iroquois) or which were unknown to him. For instance, a résumé of a letter of Miss de Roybon of 1708, shows that the outcome of her petition to Raudot in 1707, which, it was surmised in the previous article, had been pigeonholed, was actually fruitless. In this résumé, there is an added detail which could not be known from the petition to the intendant—Miss de Roybon had crossed the Atlantic in 1706, and had presented in person her claims to the Court. "Having produced all ther titles [to the seigniory granted her by La Salle], His Majesty ordered M. de Vaudreuil to allow her to go back and settle on the said seigniory on condition that she did not trade with the Indians outside its boundaries. She was only allowed to exchange the products of her land, and was forbidden to sell brandy." In the margin of the résumé of her letter, there is the following brief comment: "It is more than was granted to the other" landowners near Fort Frontenac. Both Vaudreuil and Raudot had forbidden her to bring merchandise thither she complained, "which is altogether against the clauses of the concession of the seigniory." Again there is a brief, final marginal comment: "Nothing more may be allowed her, all the more since she is unable to do anything by herself and since her intention is to hand over her rights to other people for a consideration," (Archives des Colonies, C 11A, 29:262).

To illustrate how determined a person Miss de Roybon was, her actions at the time of her lawsuit with de Couagne were pointed out. The letter just quoted shows that when her return to Fort Frontenac was blocked by Vaudreuil and Raudot, she made the long journey to France. More than common energy was needed to cross the Atlantic in those days, especially in the case of a 60 year old woman. Her request to Raudot in 1707 had been fruitless, and the answer of the minister, as evidenced by the marginal notes of the résumé of her letter of 1708, was not very encouraging. Nevertheless, nine years later, only a few months before her death, she was again petitioning

the home government to have her seigniory restored to her. The date of the appeal is significant. After the death of Louis XIV, the French colonies were governed by the Conseil de la Marine. Miss de Roybon probably thought that she would have better success with the new administrators than she had had with Pontchartrain.

In her petition to the Council she repeated what she had said a decade earlier in that addressed to Raudot. More than forty years ago she had come to Canada, and "because of a loan of about 2000 livres" to La Salle, he had granted her a tract of land near Fort Frontenac. She enumerated her losses at the time of the Iroquois raids. She complained that when peace was signed in 1701, she was prevented from returning, as were "all the other settlers of this place [Fort Frontenac] under the pretext that the [monopoly of] trade at this fort and at the fort on the Strait of Lake Erie [Detroit] had been given to the Company of Canada." It was this refusal that determined her to go to France in 1706, she averred. She came back with a letter of Pontchartrain for Vaudreuil, which allowed her to return to her seigniory on the same conditions as before. "This letter produced no results; she has always been prevented from going to her property, under the pretext that the commerce at that place was carried on for the benefit of the king." The last paragraph of the petition to the Council adds a few items to what was already known. After asking that she and the other settlers be allowed to return to Fort Frontenac and be allowed to trade with the Indians, "if the Council does not see fit to grant her petition, she begged them to retrieve her from the beggary in which she has been for so many years." From her last wills, it would appear that Miss de Roybon somewhat exaggerated her financial distress. "She is of noble birth [demoiselle]. She had brought enough money to Canada to live according to her social status [qualité], if they had let her enjoy the use of her establishment which cost her so much hardship and so hard a captivity," that is, among the Iroquois in 1687. (Archives de la Marine, B 1, 19:309-312; AC, C 11A, 37:143.)

Her letter to the Council is dated April 9, 1717. If it left Canada sometime during the fall, it reached Paris at the end of the year. The same note is found in the margin of the two résumés of her petition quoted above: "Let her appeal to M. de Vaudreuil." The Council had not been more considerate than Pontchartrain. But Miss de Roybon never knew this answer, for when it reached Canada in the summer of 1718, she had been dead several months.

J. D.

Book Reviews

The Way Forward. The American Trade Agreements Program. By Francis Bowes Sayre. Macmillan Company, New York, 1939. Pp. 230.

Mr. Sayre was assistant secretary of state and chairman of the Government Executive Committee on Commercial Policy. For several years he has been making addresses in various parts of the country setting forth the nature and the significance of the trade agreements program. This book contains some of the addresses, fashioned into a connected whole, and as he says, stating simply and concisely the reasons for the adoption of the trade agreements program, its nature and its purposes, the method by which it is carried out, how it touches the people of our country, and the results thus far achieved.

One of the consequences of the last war, greatly intensified by the depression was what Pope Pius XI called "exaggerated nationalism." There was ample ground for this reversion to the tribal stage of historical development. Nations that depended upon foreign countries for much of their war materials and subsistence commodities were in a precarious position. They became debtor nations and in so far the integrity of their sovereignty was impaired. But aside from notions of sovereignty they became dependent nations in a way that affected their whole national life. If they could not sell the surplus they produced they could not buy the goods they needed and their standard of living would decline. In most of the debtor nations the standard of living did decline. It became a matter of immediate urgency to reorganize their social structure and this they proceeded to do on an intensive and exclusive scale. Internal resources were developed in some cases with astonishing results. Italy, for example, was able to produce wheat crops large enough to support her population, something which she had not been able to do since the wars of Hannibal. The work was laborious and not conducive to the development or maintenance of friendly relations with countries that forced a nation to produce what it might more cheaply have bought had it not been prevented from selling by unreasonably high tariff obstruction. Driven to rely on their own resources, developing dislike, mistrust, and the inevitable hatred that is now prevalent in Europe and spreading over seas, intense and savage nationalism was the deplorable consequence.

It was this that the United States had to face when developing a commercial policy in 1933. Should the United States follow the crippled nations of Europe and be carried along on the current of economic nationalism, or for the sake of peace and rational living

adopt a policy of liberalized trade? The Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act had accepted the first alternative, and the economic consequences were disastrous. The American export surplus market was rapidly disappearing. To regain it trade barriers must be lowered at home and abroad. The only way in which this could be accomplished was by international agreement.

On June 12, 1934, the Trade Agreements Act was signed by President Roosevelt. "Under the new law," says Mr. Sayre, "the way was open for the United States to help significantly in effectively opposing the growing economic policies of conflict and struggle which were threatening to engulf the world, and in building sound economic foundations for peace." It might mean saving the world from economic chaos and destruction. The basic idea of the Act is that with the growing menace of economic nationalism American foreign trade must be protected and increased through international agreement. The Act authorizes the President to enter into executive agreements for the reciprocal reduction of excessive trade barriers, and to make such tariff adjustments within prescribed limits as are required or appropriate to carry out such agreements. A limitation is found in the first section of the statute where it is provided that "no proclamation shall be made increasing or decreasing by more than 50 per centum any existing rate of duty." There is also a restriction which forbids transferring any article between the dutiable and free lists. In the Act the Congress directed the President to continue the traditional policy of the United States to treat all nations alike, that is to continue its established policy of the unconditional most-favored-nation treatment. The duration of the power conferred on the President has been by a later Act extended to June 12, 1940, and limits the President to the making of such agreements as can be readily terminated after a comparatively short fixed period. Before making an agreement the Act requires opportunity to be heard and interdepartmental consultation.

Up to April 1, 1939 trade agreements had been concluded with nineteen countries. These nineteen countries account for approximately 60 per cent of our total foreign trade. The agreements with the United Kingdom and Canada alone cover more than 3,000 tariff items on which concessions were granted and obtained. During the trade decline of 1938 both our exports and our total foreign trade with the agreement group of countries declined relatively less than our exports and our total trade with the nonagreement group. International cooperation was making some headway before the crash came on September 1. Mr. Sayre finished his book before that fateful day. Knowing now the condition of the world the following paragraph is impressive:

"Conquest cannot furnish a solution of the problem of foreign markets. Under twentieth century conditions there can be no economic

victor in a great war. Each side alike suffers the wiping out on a colossal scale of its most productive man power, of its savings and its capital, of its normal trade. The future of each is crippled and hampered by debt. The more complete the destruction of enemy territory, the more complete is the destruction of future markets and purchasing power. Even were additional foreign markets won, the cost of the struggle lowers the victor's standard of living far below any possible gain through enlarged markets."

Mr. Sayre has written an able defense of the Trade Agreements Act. We hope, as he assuredly does, that when the present conflict ends this Act or one similar to it, may lead the nations away from economic conflict. For "it builds the kind of economic foundations upon which alone human progress and lasting world peace can rest."

ENEAS B. GOODWIN

Loyola University

Our Land and Our Lady. By Daniel Sargent, Longmans, New York, 1939. Pp. 263.

For several generations now, beginning notably with John Gilmary Shea in the 1850's, Catholic writers have been devoting a good deal of careful and intelligent work to the history of Catholicism in the United States. When they began their task, the writing of history had already become what is called scientific. A technique had been established, in which the historian's major concern was with authorities, with the substantiation of details of fact through "sources," and with lavish support of statements by citation of authorities and "sources." The value of this approach to historical writing cannot be questioned. But it is obviously true also that the value of any historical method can never rise above the level of the men who use it. The partisan writer can be just as impressive in his apparatus of research and citation as the unbiased writer; and both of them, for all their observance of the niceties of method, can be, and at times are, most unimaginatively dull. It is still necessary to have a good historian before one can have good history.

Moreover, scientific history, besides being capable of such absurd distortions as those of the Whig school, had a little tendency to be high-brow. It too often seemed to be written by experts for experts, with a lofty disregard for the common or garden reader. Still another difficulty about scientific history is that it tends to be a piecemeal affair, an intensive digging into a small area of facts. That again is not to decry the value of laborious digging into details; but only to point out its limitations. To balance the detailed analysis, we need an historical synthesis, based though this must be upon the material supplied by the patient diggers.

In due time, the need for wider assemblages of historical data was appreciated, as well as the need for a more humane presentation of

the results achieved by historical research. Even the specialists began to suspect, what the general run of educated men had always known, that the footnote and the bibliography were not the beginning and the end of historical writing. Not all students of history curse the magnificent Belloc, who resolutely disdains citation of authorities, and who values the linked significance of facts more than contention over microscopic details of fact. There have been some very competent efforts by other writers than Mr. Belloc to make this comprehensive approach to history. Amongst the most brilliant of such efforts is this new book by Daniel Sargent.

Our Land and Our Lady deals with the impact of the Catholic religion, and particularly of the cultus of our Lady, upon the regions that now make up the United States. Even on the strictest technical assessment, Mr. Sargent is well equipped to look back over our years since the coming of Columbus in the *Santa Maria*, and to note the succession of facts that link our most important developments with the Catholic religion. But what makes this book distinctive above other sketches of Catholic history in the United States is that Mr. Sargent, in addition to being a trained historian, is a poet; which means that he has an eye for more than the bare facts, for the truth and even the emotion behind the facts. So he sees the shadow of our Lady cast over this land that many think now so remote from her. He sees her name, and a sense of what she stands for in the religion of her Son, shining out across the long chain of incidents that history fumblingly records as stages in our story.

He selects and recounts the incidents accurately, with the security of one familiar with a thousand more details omitted, and always with a searching glance for their underlying meaning. Conquistador and explorer, missionary and geographer, soldier and even trader, dotted our land with the name of Mary: from Our Lady of Holy Hope in Maine to Our Lady of the Angels in California, through Ville-Marie de Montreal, Sault Sainte Marie, and scores of streams, villages, counties, and schools, called Saint Mary's. He ties together these many Saint Mary's. He lets the reader see why Chesapeake Bay was once the Bay of the Mother of God, and the Mississippi the River of the Immaculate Conception; and why it was that when our land, which had got its earliest and its most vital culture from Catholic missionaries, in turn sent missionaries to foreign lands, the missionaries went from Maryknoll.

Along the thread of our Lady's inspiration, Mr. Sargent has strung a swift but adequate survey of the manifold Catholic influences affecting the people of the United States, from the beginning until now. In his hands, it is a warm and living history, written with tenderness, with intense yet restrained feeling, and with a sense of relative values most refreshing amidst the confused and despairing gropings of our post-Christian world. It is also history written in a

nervous, masculine prose not always at the command of our Catholic historians. Such a vivid synthesis of Catholic history in the United States supplements and interprets our growing body of research studies. It should be of immense value to all who have studied, no matter how eruditely, the isolated details that go to make up the glory and the regret of our past in the United States.

W. KANE

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A Journal of Reparations. By Charles G. Dawes, Macmillan Company, London, 1939. Pp. xxxv+527.

It would seem that the principal lasting value of this work will be to show posterity that for a long time after 1919 sensible and otherwise fair-minded businessmen, among the Allies, clung to a belief that the Versailles Treaty might be made to work.

In November 1923 the Reparation Commission which had functioned since the end of the World War for the purpose of handling German payments of war indemnities became convinced of the absolute economic chaos in the Reich. Thereupon, it decided to call the First Committee of Experts from the countries who had been allies in the war, for the purpose of considering "the means of balancing the budget and measures to be taken to stabilize the currency" in Germany. General Charles G. Dawes was chosen chairman of the First Committee of Experts, and this book is the result of editing a journal which he kept during the sessions of the committee. To the journal he has added three appendices; namely, an extract from the address of Charles E. Hughes, Secretary of State, before the American Historical Association at New Haven, Connecticut, on December 29, 1922, in which he recommended the appointment of such a Committee of Experts; secondly, a number of letters and telegrams relative to the work of the Experts Committee; and thirdly, the official report of the Experts Committee as submitted to the Reparations Commission. These appendices constitute more than half of the book and make available, in handy form, some source material which the future historian may be glad to have when he comes to write the full story of Germany in the twentieth century.

The journal itself, through the contemporaneous work of one who was in a supremely important position to reveal how the "Dawes Plan" came into existence, is unsatisfactory mainly because it studiously omits any reference to the disagreements among the members. While the reader senses that such conflict was often there, General Dawes blocks it out, leaving one with the sensation that the picture he paints is incomplete.

The thought repeating itself to the mind of the reviewer as he read the work has been put in the opening sentence of this review. Here were a group of eminent businessmen, professing to undertake

their work with the attitude that "nothing is more important at the inception of important work than humbleness of opinion. If one does not have it, he can never be sure that he has all the facts, much less the proper sense of their relative importance" (p. 6). Yet despite the ruin of Germany by the Versailles Treaty they were determined to make her pay reparations to the full. They did not realize the impasse which confronted them. French critics, at the time, spoke truly when they said: "If Germany be made strong enough to pay she will be strong enough to refuse to pay" (p. 73). The blind trust of the Committee in the workableness of the Versailles Treaty can be accounted for only by realizing that six years after the war men did not think as clearly about it as we do today.

How the plan had to be changed after five years; and how, during that time, Adolf Hitler, taking advantage of conditions in Germany, rose upon the injured sentiment of the German people to a position which made him dictator by 1932, is not commented upon in the book. However, it is history rather contradictory to the complimentary letters and telegrams quoted in the second appendix as praising the "Dawes Plan."

R. N. HAMILTON

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The Marquis de Vaudreuil. New France at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century. By Francis H. Hammang. Docteur en Sciences Historiques. *Part I. New France and the English Colonies.* (Université de Louvain. Recueil de Travaux publiés par les membres des Conférences d'Histoire et de Philologie, 2^e série.- 47^e fascicule). Bruges, 1938. Pp. 218.

The purpose of this Louvain doctoral thesis, says the author in the introduction, is "to throw new light on Vaudreuil's person and career, to give a new appreciation of some of the chief events which took place during his governorship and consider certain factors which have thus far been neglected or insufficiently emphasized by earlier writers." Owing to the length of Vaudreuil's administration, twenty-seven years, owing to the vast territory over which he ruled, and also to the complexity of the problems which confronted the governor, Dr. Hammang has limited his thesis to the years preceding the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). The subtitle of this first part partially indicates the contents; external affairs are mainly dealt with. The conflict between New France and the English colonies is treated in detail. "The question of the West because of its proportions, its involved character and its many ramifications will be the subject of a later volume." Those who are interested in the history of the West during Vaudreuil's governorship hope that Dr. Hammang will not delay too long in issuing his second volume. If we may judge from the quality of the first volume, the author will deal very competently with this

other phase of history which had its center in the Great Lakes area.

The first chapter is, in the reviewer's opinion, one of the best summaries in print of the colonial administration under Jerome Pontchartrain. The evolution of the administrative system is clearly set forth. Authoritative monographs on the subject form the basis of this section. The system is summed up as being "an odd mixture of paternalism and cold official formalism, of incessant meddling and gross neglect, of great concern over a detail of little importance and an apparent disregard for a vital matter on which depended a whole continent." That part of the first chapter which shows how colonial dispatches were handled when they reached Paris is especially noteworthy. Although prudently modified by an adverb, one might perhaps take exception to the following statement as too general: "In nearly all cases, the official dispatches from Canada were controlled by various other letters sent by other persons in the colony. Very often they were checked with former letters or memorials." To compensate for this generalization there is another statement, which those who have studied the correspondence directly instead of in badly edited or truncated texts or in spurious translations, will heartily endorse. From an examination of the evidence, Dr. Hammang shows that "writers have often attributed to the minister or king what was obviously the routine work of a clerk." The author, however, seems to depart momentarily from his customary exactness when he attributes to La Touche comments of Champigny. The annotation on the letter of August 31, 1703: "J'ay repondu a tout cela en repondant a la lettre que le Sr de la Motte a escrit a Monseigneur," was written by the former intendant. Cadillac having sent his lucubrations to Pontchartrain, an abstract of these was forwarded to Champigny for comment; and the latter felt it was a waste of time to comment once more on the fancies which the commandant of Detroit had written to La Touche by the same mail. In this letter, Cadillac merely repeats what he had written to Pontchartrain with still further misrepresentations—not to use a harsher but more adequate term—thrown in for good measure.

While this thesis was being published in Belgium, M. P.-G. Roy was issuing at Lévis *La Famille de Rigaud Vaudreuil*. The sketch of the career of the governor of Canada in Dr. Hammang's thesis, chapter two, and that of M. Roy are complimentary in many respects. What stands out is that Vaudreuil, like everybody in authority in New France, was criticized by self-appointed censors, armchair generals, and statesmen. A few of those disgruntled individuals are listed. Ramezay who seems to have enjoyed complaining; the hypocondriac Ruelle d'Auteuil; and the most notoriously quarrelsome of them all, Cadillac. The latter especially was congenitally incapable of living in peace with anybody. He was never so happy as when he had the whole colony, officialdom from top to bottom, against him. He always

came out on top, always got the better of everybody, thanks, he is reported to have said, "to my towering genius." Cadillac seems to have had no misgivings about his own worth.

With regard to the internal situation in the colony, the reader is reminded that the first years of Vaudreuil's administration coincided with one of the most critical periods in the history of France, with the war of the Spanish Succession. Little succor or merchandise could be sent to Canada by the mother country, and, as a result, some progress was made in small industries in Canada. In this way, the war, in some fashion, helped the colony.

The fur trade question is only lightly touched upon. The state of affairs bringing about the edict of 1696 should have been given a less cursory treatment; all the more since the fur trade played one of the most important roles in the history of New France. "For many reasons furs, more particularly beaver pelts, were intimately bound up with the colony's very existence." But perhaps a fuller treatment will find its place in the second volume when the question of the West is dealt with. In the meantime, there is a clear statement of what the "ferme" institution was, and a lucid exposition of the negotiations leading to the transfer of the trade monopoly to what became known as the *Compagnie de la Colonie*. In 1703, when he took office, Vaudreuil was facing a critical situation. Canada was thrown upon its own resources, the fur trade was practically ruined, "its financial system—or what passed for a system—was disorganized; and its military strength greatly weakened by lack of recruits and supplies, and the discontent which existed among the Indian allies."

In the last three chapters, the relations between New France and the English colonies, New England and New York, are examined in great detail, and an inquiry is made into the causes of, and the responsibility for the outbreak of hostilities in the summer of 1703. The alliance with the Indians was an absolute necessity; without them, owing to the weakness of the French forces, the colony would have found it difficult to preserve itself. It was imperative to prevent the Indians from passing over to the English. "The most efficacious means of keeping them faithful, however, was a flourishing fur trade. Presents, mutual enemies, old alliances, religion, and diplomacy sided only to a certain extent." As a matter of fact, the only remedy to an evil almost as old as the colony itself, would have been to meet the price the English paid for the pelts. Lahontan wrote about this time: "They [Indians] say, we are great Cheats in selling them bad Wares four times dearer than they are worth, by way of Exchange for their Beaver-skins." The Indians were not so foolish as to fail to realize that they were paid for their pelts at Albany three or four times the price paid at Montreal. Instead of meeting the English prices, the French had recourse to all sorts of palliatives which rendered their Indian alliance very precarious.

During the first part of Vaudreuil's administration, the governor without giving evidence of extraordinary ability, always had the situation well in hand; and, concludes Dr. Hammang, "He must be credited with having brought the colony safety through a difficult period." The book has a bibliography, a detailed table of contents, but no index.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

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Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936. The Mission Era, Volume IV: The Passing of the Missions, 1762-1782. By Carlos E. Castañeda. Von Boeckmann-Jones Company, Austin, Texas, 1939. Pp. 409. Maps and Illustrations.

In this fourth volume of the history of Texas, written with the view to bring out the Catholic contributions to the development of the great southern state, Dr. Carlos E. Castañeda presents the completed picture of Texas frontier life prior to the secularization of the missions. In a fluent style he portrays the political, economic, social, Indian, and international affairs from the eve of the transfer of vast lands west of the Mississippi from French to Spanish control in 1762 down to the early seventeen-eighties when Spain allowed the mission systems to lapse. The scope of the present volume, in other words, is a final estimate of the value of the missions and a survey of the causes which brought about their passing. Dr. Castañeda has succeeded well in reaching the objectives of his work. By prefacing the volume and the individual chapters with running accounts of preceding events he has enhanced the interest of his findings for the general reader, while his utilization and coordination of monographs and research articles, and his lengthy bibliography, will prove a great aid to students.

Conditions in Texas, a frontier province of New Spain, were anything but heartening prior to 1762. Encroachments of the French and English demanded that Spain not only protect but extend her domain from the center at San Antonio toward the Gulf and toward the Mississippi. Wild tribes of the north and west, prominent among which were the Comanches and Apaches, had somehow to be held at bay. The French pressure was somewhat relieved by the cession of 1762. The Indian and English menace remained. Spain used the missionary and military occupation as a means to settle Texas originally, and the policy was continued, missions and presidios being placed in different directions as spearheads of the Spanish advance. There were twenty-one flourishing missions and seven presidios holding together the entire land of Texas in 1762. The 'in-between' places and all the fringe of Texas called for more of each. The narrative tells of the attempts to apply the policy beginning with the occupation of the Trinity River. The third chapter recounts Parrilla's foolhardy puni-

tive expedition against the united tribes of the north and the ultimate abandonment of the Apaches to their thieving ways and stubborn savagery. Follows a description of the foundation of the Cañon Missions, and plans for the reorganization of the frontier, while the last four chapters deal with the retirement of the Querétaran friars from Texas, the abandonment of East Texas by Spain, the beginnings of present Nacogdoches, and the opening moves toward the secularization of San Antonio. The volume is replete with details of legalities, officials, and officialdom.

The mission systems according to the author were in no sense a failure, for they served admirably as a frontier institution for the spread of civilization and religion, for protection against raiding tribesmen, and for food supplies. Moreover, they are monuments of the unselfish zeal of the missionaries, and milestones in the history of the state.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University

Catholic Library Problems. By W. Kane, S. J. Loyola University Library, Chicago, 1939. Pp. xiv+214.

Within a single life-time, library work, particularly here in the United States, has undergone an enormous change. Now, library science has become formidable and has filled the library with a complexity of techniques calculated to baffle, or even to oppress and terrify, not only the poor layman, but even a good many practicing librarians. It should bring comfort to all these people to know that one small book, *Catholic Library Problems*, has managed to pierce this modern mystery of library work. In order to explore the specific problems of a specific kind of library, the author has had to clear away a pretty thick fog of mumbo-jumbo about library work in general. The words he uses are words we all know; his facts are accurate and undistorted; he thinks straight and talks straight. When one has finished this very readable book, one can say: "Well, now I know what actually are the problems of a Catholic library."

The approach of this book to Catholic library problems is both historical and analytical. Although it does not pretend to be a complete record of the development of Catholic libraries in the United States, it probably contains more of their history than any other book published. As history alone, it merits attention. Compactly, and with refreshing realism, the author sketches the origins and growth of Catholic libraries, the gradual evolving of library methods, and the inter-relations of the library with school education. Against a background of history that in itself does much to reveal the difficulties of Catholic library work, he takes up in detail the problems of organizing and administering a Catholic school library, problems of purpose and personnel, of library routines, of the librarian's authority

and functions. In all this he is practical. His chapter on the problems of book selection, as viewed from the standpoint of Catholic principles, offers more guidance than a score of imposing 'book lists' or the sometimes dogmatic prescriptions of educational associations.

The problems of classifying and cataloguing books are dealt with so simply and clearly that the result is to rob them of their bewildering vagueness. And when the vagueness has been stripped away, the problems shrink amazingly. Much the same may be said about many problems of direct reader service. They are problems created outside of Catholic school libraries; if they begin to trouble us now, it is only because we drag them inside. Still, the author does not claim to solve all the problems he presents. He does not volunteer, as so many others do, to do the thinking for the reader. But he stimulates the reader to do his own thinking, and he gives him solid and interesting data to think about. Yet he is frank in recognizing that some problems, for example, that of defining the aims and character of Catholic school libraries, and the problem of training Catholic librarians, are generally not even in the hands of the librarians, and are subject to the uncertainties which nowadays affect so much of Catholic education in the United States.

The book is well printed and bound, and has an adequate index.

JOHN T. MORTELL